

THE CRITICAL REVIEW.

SERIES THE THIRD.

Vol. XIII.

MARCH, 1808.

No. III.

ART. I.—*Memoirs of the public Life of the late Right Hon. Charles James Fox. By R. Fell. 4to. 1l. 11s. 6d. Hughes, Wigmore-street. 1808.*

THESE Memoirs are compiled from the newspapers, magazines, and other ephemeral publications. Mr. Fell does not profess to have had any personal acquaintance with the great man whose public conduct he has attempted to delineate, or to have had access to any private and confidential sources of information. But though we could have wished that Mr. Fell had possessed a more intimate knowledge of his subject, we are far from thinking that he has made a bad use of such materials as he was able to procure. Mr. Fell is an enthusiastic admirer of the great statesman whom he describes, but the ardour of his regard does not appear to have led him into any exaggerations of praise on the one hand, or any misrepresentations of historical truth on the other. If we cannot bestow any high encomium on his elegance, we can at least confer ample commendation on his veracity.—We shall proceed to give a brief abstract of the principal occurrences in Mr. Fox's parliamentary career.—In 1768 Mr. Fox was brought into parliament for the borough of Midhurst, when only in his nineteenth year. In his first speech he opposed the petition of Mr. Wilkes to be liberated from the King's Bench prison to attend his duty in parliament, and he defended the court in all its obnoxious and unconstitutional proceedings on the Middlesex election. For this error in the early dawn of his public life, Mr. Fox made ample amends in his subsequent long and vigorous exertions to prevent the prerogative of the crown from swallowing up the liberties of the people. The promise of abilities, which Mr. Fox displayed, excited the admiration of Lord North, who in February 1772, made him

CRIT. REV. Vol 13. March, 1808.

Q

one of the lords of the admiralty, and treated him with great confidence and esteem. In the December following he was removed to the treasury board, at which Lord North presided.—At this period, Mr. Burke was the principal leader of the whigs in the House of Commons; and Mr. Fox was even then reputed the most able antagonist to the shock of his impetuous eloquence.—Mr. Fox, however, instead of pacing with obsequious uniformity in the trammels of the ministry, began very early to exert the native vigour and independence of his mind. When Sir Wm. Meredith, in 1772, presented a petition, signed by several hundred clergymen of the established church, praying to be relieved from the necessity of subscribing the articles, Mr. Fox exerted all his eloquence in favour of the petition. In the same session, he supported a petition for enlarging the act of toleration. Early in 1774, Mr. Fox was dismissed from the treasury, probably because he was not found that pliant tool, which was requisite for the purposes of the minister or the court. From this period to the end of his life, with only three short intervals of official trust, he was uniformly found at the head of the opposition; and even when Mr. Fox constituted a part of the administration he never forgot this great truth, which is essential to the existence of a free government, that the ministers of the crown are, at the same time, the servants of the people. When Mr. Fox retired from his situation at the treasury board, the discontents in America, which had been spreading over the United Provinces, in a slow and at times almost invisible combustion, since the imposition of the stamp-act in 1761, were ready to burst into that furious flame, which finally dissolved the intimate connection which had hitherto subsisted between Great Britain and her colonists. The real cause of this rupture must be sought in the despotic propensities of the court. The court wished to be absolute; but, not daring to venture the bold experiment at home, determined to commence it at the extremities of the empire. Had the project been as successfully executed as it was artfully conceived, it is easy to conjecture that liberty would have become only a shadow in this happy isle. The question was, not merely whether America should pay a tax on stamps or an excise on tea; but, *whether the Americans should be freemen or slaves*. This was the real ground of the dispute; and the real alternative of which America had to make her choice. The sword was drawn; and the issue of the contest was happily in favour of freedom and humanity. In this long and arduous conflict Mr. Fox vindicated the rights of the Americans in the English

House of Commons with as much constancy and zeal as Washington did in the field; and the independence of America may be regarded as hardly more owing to the military genius of the one than to the enlightened eloquence of the other. That Spartan phalanx of true English whigs, which was then in the House of Commons, and of which Mr. Fox was confessedly the head, served, by their intrepid opposition to the court, by exposing its puerile imbecility, and inveighing against its lawless ambition, to animate the hopes of the Americans, and to paralyse the efforts of their enemies; till the cabinet of St. James's, after experiencing accumulated disasters and disgrace, was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the colonies, whom it had once hoped to crush into the most humiliating servitude. In this contest the atrocious daring of tyranny was opposed to the rights of humanity; but if the former had not experienced such inflexible opponents, and the latter such vigorous supporters in the English House of Commons, it is more than probable that the genius of liberty would have been engulfed in the vortex of despotism.

Early in the year 1780, the country was so much impressed with a conviction of the imbecility and the misconduct of the then administration, that meetings were held throughout the kingdom for taking into consideration the alarming state of public affairs. In a meeting of the inhabitants of Westminster, which was held in Westminster Hall, Mr. Fox delivered a very animated and impressive speech, in which there are some sentiments very applicable to present circumstances, and which we shall quote because they will at the same time serve as a specimen of his eloquence.

'What,' said Mr. Fox, 'is the government of this country? Does it not consist of king, lords, and people? Is the House of Commons more or less than the delegate or representation of the people, who intrust for a limited time, their power, their rights, and their interests, in their hands? The moment that delegated body becomes perfidious, the interests of their constituents are abandoned, and they, instead of being the representatives of the people, become the slaves or passive instruments of the crown. Is this then the case? Are they, or are they not, in this critical predicament? I will not say they are yet so notoriously and universally profligate. But if they refuse to grant what the people ask; if they spurn at measures of economy; if they affect to treat the remonstrances of their constituents with contempt or indifference, from that moment they forfeit their character and their authority; and it is legal, constitutional, and necessary, for the people to resume that trust which has been thus prostituted to

their disadvantage. This is the universal sense of the nation. Individuals every where feel and avow it, and no man can be so depraved, so blinded by faction, or so ignorant of his dignity and birth right, as to deny the doctrine.

‘The adherents of ministry, who enjoy those extravagant emoluments, and unmerited pensions which are so much the object of national umbrage, may deem it unconstitutional to be deprived of them. They do say so in holes and corners. But they dare not boldly come forward at the public meetings and avow their sentiments. Protests may be contrived as senseless as they are impudent, by men who are robbing the public, in the present hour of general despondency and distress; in secret cabals; and these may be sent to hedge ale-houses to be signed by their needy dependents: but will they meet the people of England fairly, and support their claims and pretensions to such extravagant emoluments by public proof? You meet in the eyes of all the world, and declare your sense of our public situation like citizens, and like men.

‘It is said that petitions lead to anarchy and confusion. They do not. Their consequence is the reverse. They tend to prevent every sort of public mischief, to avert the downfall of the empire, to restore us to harmony and unanimity, and to recover our national consequence and tranquillity by vigour, exertion, and success. But this is not a time to embarrass government! Is that then the object of the petition? No! Their aim is economy, and economy is giving new supplies to government. All that can be saved from the sink of corruption, will thus contribute to the public service, give additional strength to our arms, and enable us to maintain, with spirit and effect, the dreadful and unequal struggle in which we are engaged. We are told this is not a time for these complaints, or this reformation! What! is not the moment of necessity the moment for relief? When is economy most seasonable but when pressed for supplies? The measure would be criminal indeed, were we contriving how to burthen the people with more taxes; but we wish to answer the demands of the state,—not by additional impositions, but by a frugal application of what we already possess. This reform originates from men who never attempted it themselves when in power. Whigs and Tories have been equally prodigal. The charge has some foundation, but has no argument. The calamity has advanced to this moment undressed. But till this moment it was never so generally felt or so clearly understood. Nor was it ever so formidable or enormous as now. When success crowns every effort of a great people, and conquest makes them glorious and happy, they are not so apt to grudge the expenditure of public money. Then they give with pleasure, because what they give, though not spent with economy, yet enlarges their territory and enhances their renown. But when defeat, shame, and dismay, haunt and harass them in every quarter, when their exertions grow weak and languid, they are tempted by curiosity, as well as concern, to call their servants to

account, and to inspect, with a jealous severity, their public disbursements.

‘Formerly, when a minister was attacked, his vindication generally rested on the merits he possessed. But now the friends, or rather the adherents (for friends they have none), of the present junto abandon that ground. Their warmest advocates affect not to say they are wise, capable, virtuous, zealous, or vigilant. No! they have long given them up to the just but indignant accusations of the people. Still, however, they exclaim their enemies are as bad. They have no other defence, and the cause deserves no other. Thus they attempt to blacken human nature, to throw the foulest calumny on mankind, and in the plenitude of conscious deformity, to libel the whole species, by reducing them to their own deplorable standard.

‘The necessity of national exertion, at this moment, is obvious. The people know well the origin of monarchy. It is the reward which gratitude induced them to pay individuals of extraordinary heroism and virtue, for rescuing them from slavery, extending, planning, or establishing their interests, or other eminent or patriotic actions. Such is the origin of kingly authority; and what gratitude at first produced, prescription, habit, happiness, in some instances, and weakness in others, combined and maintained. Nations are excusable for conferring royalty on the man who gives them glory and empire. But what opprobrium must that people suffer, who permit themselves to be enslaved in a reign not immortalized by the lustre of enterprize. They have no other apology than tameness, servility, and corruption.

‘Were the value of liberty unknown, were its nature either undefined or misunderstood, ignorance might cover their insignificance. They might be pitied. They could not be condemned. But, having every advantage of information and science, the amplest liberty and the justest sense of its worth, with the example before their eyes what manly resistance must produce, their indifference will be universally detested, and infamy added to ruin. Nothing but the determined resolution of the people, the temperate and firm decision of Englishmen, united in one plan, and pressing on one point, can now save them. Thus united, thus resolved, thus acting, no prince however obstinate, no parliament however venal, can oppose or resist them with effect. Call to mind the treatment you have received, the manner in which you have been loaded with taxes, and that, in the midst of public calamity and public want, the yearly revenue of the sovereign is increased a hundred thousand pounds, and that he is the only person whose estate is not to suffer from the incapacity and prodigality of his servants; and judge for yourselves whether you have any thing to expect from such a ministry and such measures. You must be the ministers of your own deliverance, and the road to it is open. You see the effects of manly resolution. Your brethren in America and Ire-

land shew you how to act when bad men force you to feel. Are we not born heirs of the same privileges? Are we not possessed of equal veneration for our lives and liberties? Does not the blood flow as freely in our veins as in theirs? Are we not capable as they are of spurning at life when unaccompanied with freedom? Did not our forefathers fight and bleed for their rights, and transmit them as the most valuable legacy they could bequeath to posterity? And shall we not then join heart and hand to do ourselves right in this crisis of danger and oppression? Shall the heart of the empire be tame and lifeless, while her limbs are in activity and motion? No! I trust corruption has not yet extended her debilitating influence to the people, who are the vitals of the great body politic.'

On the 6th of April 1780, the House of Commons passed one of the most memorable resolutions, which is recorded on their journals, that 'the influence of the crown had increased, was increasing, and ought to be diminished.' Four hundred and forty-eight members were present in the house, and, notwithstanding the influence of the court, a majority of eighteen voted in favour of the motion. 'Scarcely any more important motion,' says Mr. Burke in the Annual Register for 1780, 'seems to have been carried since the revolution. The system of the court was shaken to its foundation. Without doors the joy and triumph in most parts of England, as well in most of the counties that did not petition as in those that did, was great and general; and though not displayed in the same manner, would not perhaps have been exceeded by the most decisive victory over a foreign enemy.' Such was the effect of that conviction, which was produced by the eloquence of Fox at the head of that patriotic party which contained all that was wise and good and respectable in the nation. But the fruits of a well digested and salutary reform, which were expected to spring from this noble declaration, were finally prevented by the lavish corruption of the cabinet. The illness of the Speaker caused the House to adjourn for a few days; in which time the minister employed such *weighty* arguments with some of the members that on the next meeting, when the House was preparing to give efficacy to their late resolution, more than thirty of the persons who had supported it were guilty of the most unprincipled apostacy, and voted with the minister!!! The disgraceful riots, produced by the ferment of religious fanaticism, which happened soon after, gave a new turn to the current of popular opinion, and prolonged the duration of the ministry. The parliament was dissolved and a new one met on the 31st of October 1780. Lord North

still lingered in his place, but on the 22d of February 1782, his triumphant majority had dwindled to a single vote; and on the 27th of the same month he was left in a minority of 19. On the 27th of the following March, a new administration was formed under the banners of the Marquis of Rockingham; and Mr. Fox received the seals as secretary of state for foreign affairs. This ministry, which was one of the most able and patriotic, that had been formed during the present reign, was but of short continuance. The death of the Marquis of Rockingham in July 1782, caused disunion in the cabinet; the interest of the Earl of Shelburne predominated, and Mr. Fox and most of his distinguished friends retired. But, during the few months in which they were in office, they conferred the most important benefits on the empire. They altered the illiberal and selfish policy which had been observed towards Ireland: they passed an act to prevent the officers of the customs and excise from voting at elections; and they succeeded in procuring the royal assent to Mr. Burke's wise bill of economical reform. These were acts which reflected the highest honour on those by whom they were planned and executed. Lord Shelburne did not long retain his place of first lord of the treasury. He was succeeded by the Duke of Portland on the 2d of April, 1783; and Mr. Fox was reinstated in his place of secretary of state. This is that period of Mr. Fox's life on which we reflect with the least satisfaction. The coalition which he had formed with Lord North proved ruinous to his popularity; and by opening the way to the political ascendancy of Mr. Pitt, proved highly mischievous to his country. The measure itself appears to have been brought about by the persuasions of Mr. Burke, to which, on this as well as on other occasions, Mr. Fox paid more deference than they deserved. For Mr. Burke was more eloquent than upright. His mind was stored with a great diversity of knowledge; but that knowledge was, in too many instances, rendered pernicious in its practical application, by a laxity of principle; without which wisdom becomes foolishness. An inconsiderate facility of compliance, particularly where the person possessed his confidence and esteem, was the characteristic failing of Mr. Fox. Mr. Burke, who was more governed by calculations of interest, than by any steadiness of principle, had unfortunately acquired but too much sway over his artless and unsuspecting mind. No measure was ever more generally reprobated than the coalition; and perhaps no small part of the calamities which have since befallen the country, may be traced up to that unfortunate

event.—For, in proportion as it lowered Mr. Fox in the public opinion, it elevated his juvenile antagonist; and by helping to render Mr. Pitt, for a season, the object of enthusiastic admiration, it assisted in establishing him in that post of pre-eminence, where he became rather a bane than a blessing to his country. The only plausible excuse for the coalition was, that it was necessary to oppose a barrier to the machinations of that *interior cabinet* which skulks behind the throne, which watches the motions of every administration; which impedes their progress, and annihilates their power, the moment they are about to execute any salutary reform, by which the liberty of the subject is to be increased, or the prerogative of the crown to be diminished. —But notwithstanding his junction with Lord North, Mr. Fox found, that even their united forces could not withstand the aggression of this invisible foe. When they thought themselves placed on a firm and solid base, where they might bid defiance to every competitor, they suddenly found, that, like the last virtuous administration, they had *been secretly undermined*; and that the ground was hollow and crumbling beneath their feet. The fate of Mr. Fox's India bill, reminds us of that which awaited the recent measure in favour of the Catholics. Both were thought, at least for a time, to have the approbation of the executive. Both were originally brought forward under that mistaken supposition; the act of Lord Grenville and Lord Howick was repressed before it had passed the Commons; but Mr. Fox's India bill, had advanced as far as the House of Lords, where it was strangled by the avowed interposition of the court. The interposition, which was manifested in both instances was equally opposite to the letter and the spirit of the constitution. The rejection of the India bill terminated the short career of the coalition ministry. They had not been in office nine months, before they were dismissed with a precipitation which strongly marked the displeasure of the crown. Mr. Pitt now came into office against the voice of the parliament; but certainly, at that time not without the good wishes of the people, who had become alienated from Mr. Fox by the ill-judged measure of the coalition. But Mr. Pitt soon belied by his conduct all the favourable expectations which he had excited; and though Mr. Fox for ever lost the smiles of the court, he recovered the confidence and esteem of the people.

In the latter end of the year 1788, the awful calamity which had befallen the sovereign, necessitated the proposal of a regency. The opinions which Mr. Fox supported on

this occasion, appear to us to have been more agreeable to the spirit of the constitution than those of Mr. Pitt. For a sovereign, deprived of reason, is to the full as incapable of executing the kingly office as a sovereign deprived of life. The one is a civil, the other a natural demise. And if the Prince of Wales be entitled by the letter and forms of the constitution to exercise the functions of the executive in the last instance, his claim must be equally valid in the first. For, in an hereditary monarchy, the kingly office is never vacant or quiescent. There is never even for a moment any extinction of the office or suspension of the power. But Mr. Pitt reasoned as if the English were an elective rather than an hereditary monarchy. His declaration that '*the Prince of Wales had no more right to exercise the powers of government than any other person in these realms;*' was language more suited to a republic than a monarchy; and may convince us that if Mr. Pitt had changed places with Mr. Fox, and been fixed in the chilling province of opposition instead of basking in the favour of the court, he would have been by far the most factious demagogue of the two. Mr. Fox was an ardent lover of *limited* monarchy; which appears to be the best of all possible forms for freedom and for happiness. But as the sole passion of Mr. Pitt's soul was the possession of power, the form of government, under which he enjoyed it, would have been a matter of indifference. His conduct on the regency seems to prove that he would have hazarded any innovation rather than not have gratified the domineering ambition of his soul. Had it been his fate, as it was that of his more moderate, wise and virtuous antagonist, to be in opposition during the stormy period of the French revolution, we are firmly convinced that all the wildest schemes of the wildest innovators, provided they favoured his impatient thirst for personal elevation, would have found in him an impetuous champion and a fervid friend. However much the country may have suffered from the errors of Mr. Pitt's administration, we believe that it would have received a more fatal injury from the violence of his ambitious temperament, if, instead of being the head of the ministry, he had been the leader of the opposition. The contempt which he shewed for the ancient and revered forms of the constitution on his entry into office, when he retained his place in opposition to the votes of the parliament; and, in the discussions on the regency, when he adopted the language of the most violent enemies of hereditary government, afford a curious and instructive insight into the character of the man; and shew that *his love of power was stronger than*

his love of the constitution. This cannot be said of Mr. Fox, for, though he was not only not patronized, but was during almost his whole life treated with neglect and scorn by the executive, he yet always preserved an inviolable attachment to the ancient spirit and the sacred immunities of the constitution. This characteristic difference in the ambition of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt has never been sufficiently remarked.

The conduct which Mr. Fox observed, and the opinions which he delivered on the subject of the French revolution, have been as much censured by some as they have been extolled by others. But in matters of opinion experience is always sooner or later the test of truth. If we judge the opinions which Mr. Fox entertained on this mighty event, and the measures which he recommended by this criterion, we shall find the strongest reason for applauding the rectitude of his judgment and the extent of his penetration. For the sentiments which he expressed in the different periods of that awful tragedy may be regarded as a series of predictions, of which subsequent events have amply confirmed the truth. The mind of Mr. Pitt was not sufficiently enlarged by reflection, by an acquaintance with general principles, by insight into human nature, or by a comprehensive view of the moral constitution of the world, to render him equal to act a successful part in the new combinations of things, and the extraordinary æra of human affairs in which he was placed. He, therefore, pursued the old routine of policy, which is made up of half measures, of contemptible tricks, insidious machinations and ephemeral expedients; which might have been successfully practised in the former state of Europe, but which in the present are totally inadequate to do any thing but evil, or to occasion any thing but peril and calamity. The mind of Mr. Fox, which had contemplated the state of man in the utmost diversity of moral and social modification, and under almost every possible diversity of political institutions did not view the revolution as a monstrous anomaly, the origin of which was as uncertain as the consequences, but as a great change in human affairs, of which he had the sagacity to foresee the tendencies and effects. The measures, therefore, of which Mr. Fox recommended the adoption, with respect to the revolutionary government of France, were such as were best calculated to run parallel with the novelty of the circumstances, to avert the danger from ourselves, and to mitigate the calamities which threatened the rest of Europe. Every step which Mr. Pitt took on this occasion only evinced his incompetency to the part which he had to perform in the tempestuous juncture in which he lived. Every

page of the revolution, as it was gradually disclosed, proved the infatuated blindness of the minister, and the illumined reason of his opponent. By making war on the revolution, and thus aggravating its violence and stimulating its ferocity Mr. Pitt, ultimately rendered France strong and Europe weak. He raised up a giant in whom his inconsiderate aggression breathed all the terrors of hostility, which none of his subsequent endeavours could allay. Even the fulminating splendors of Burke's eloquence, which were copiously afforded to the aid of Mr. Pitt, had no other effect but to accelerate the catastrophe and to multiply the horrors of the revolution. From the beginning of the revolution the anxious and patriotic endeavour of Mr. Fox was to preserve peace with France, and to leave the ferment of the revolutionists to subside of itself instead of aggravating its fury by forcible compression. But when he found war declared his next object was to render the duration as short as possible; and to embrace the first favourable opportunity of making peace. But war had become the passion of the court which had diffused the infatuated delusion among the people. A thick darkness seemed to overspread the nations of the earth; the wisest counsels passed for foolish; and the most foolish were reputed wise. Mr. Fox in vain struggled against the maniacal frenzy of the times. His suggestions might have tranquillized the world; but though their wisdom has been so forcibly confirmed by the event, they experienced nothing but derision and neglect. Numerous opportunities, in which peace might have been made on the most advantageous terms, were suffered to escape; the power of France was increased in proportion to the continuance of the war, till she finally laid the whole continent of Europe prostrate at her feet. In every successive scene of this great drama we see reason to applaud the wise foresight of Mr. Fox, and to lament the shallow and contracted policy of Mr. Pitt. And, in the catastrophe in which it has terminated, we cannot but discern the retributive providence of God. For the attack, which the continental powers made on the revolutionary system of the French, was conceived not only in folly but in selfishness and injustice. The awful lesson may well teach nations not wantonly to slight the principles of morality. The favourite maxim of Mr. Fox was, that **HONESTY IS THE BEST POLICY**; which is not more true in the intercourse of individuals than of nations. Had our ministers made this immortal precept the guide of their conduct in our relations with other states, instead of having to oppose the whole world in arms, we do not believe that

we should at this moment have had an enemy in the field. All that we have lost has been lost not so much from want of energy in the field, as of virtue in the cabinet. Instead of that plain dealing, which always marks a great and noble mind, those who preside at the helm of affairs seem to place their dependence on cruelty, treachery, and fraud; and though these may serve a temporary purpose, they were never found ultimately beneficial to any state. The comprehensive mind of Mr. Fox could discern not only the present consequences but the remote effects of such a narrow-minded policy.

In 1792, 1793, 1797, Mr. Fox very strenuously supported Mr. Grey's motions for a parliamentary reform. On one of these occasions he well remarked that the greatest innovation on the constitution was to vote that there should be no innovation in it. The political institutions of this country are nothing but a series of innovations on the theory and practice of our forefathers. In the year 1797 this great man, dispirited by his long course of unavailing opposition to the measures of the ministry, made a temporary secession from the House of Commons. In 1798, his name was erased from the list of privy counsellors by the orders of his Majesty, on account of a toast given at the Whig Club, which implied that the different powers of government originated in the will of the people. The Duke of Norfolk had previously experienced the same mark of the royal displeasure, from the same cause.

Mr. Fox gave his strenuous support to the treaty of Amiens, not because he considered it so good a peace as we might have made, but because he thought peace on almost any terms preferable to the continuance of the war.

When Mr. Fox was called into office in February, 1806, the whole nation overflowed with joy. Peace with foreign powers, the correction of abuses at home, and in short every diminution of evil and accession of good that the country could rationally expect from any minister, were anticipated as the happy fruit of his administration. But the accumulated fatigues of office, which were too much for his shattered frame, only served to accelerate his dissolution. But he did not die till he had made one unfeignedly sincere and patriotic effort to restore peace to his suffering country. That peace which had been the earnest endeavour of his life was the most ardent wish of his soul in the hour of death. His last words were, 'I die happy!' In the moment of expiration he had the consolation of reflecting that he *had never given a vote by which one drop of blood was shed*. Few are

the statesmen around whose bed of death the sunshine of a similar satisfaction is diffused.

We had drawn a full-length character of Mr. Fox, which we intended to have subjoined to this article, but we have already extended it so far, that we must reserve it for our next number.

ART. II.—*Essay on the Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian, in which the Objections of Malcolm Laing, Esq. are particularly considered and refuted. By Patrick Graham, D.D. &c. 8vo. pp. 471. Longman. 1807.*

WHEN the poems ascribed to Ossian first made their appearance, they were at once received with a blind credulity by all the literati of Scotland, and these gave the tone to their southern neighbours, who rapidly communicated it to the rest of Europe. No serious question appears to have been raised with regard to their authenticity before Dr. Johnson called the attention of the public to his simple demand for the production of manuscripts. Had that demand been satisfied there could have been no controversy on the subject. But, so far from that being the case, the petulance, or roguery, of Macpherson affected to consider the request as an insult, and accompanied the refusal to gratify it with circumstances of a very suspicious nature. The literary world, hitherto united in one belief, then splitted itself into two sects or parties, which have ever since continued to contest the points of difference between them with an acrimony almost equal to that of a religious warfare.

Among the Infidels, after their great prophet and lawgiver Johnson, perhaps no champion has fought so successfully as Malcolm Laing. His 'Dissertation on the supposed Authenticity of Ossian's Poems,' not only brought over many proselytes to the unbelieving system, but seems to have for a long time paralyzed the efforts of the faithful, insomuch that a great proportion of the literary world has been induced to suppose the question as set completely at rest, and many of us have brought up our children to consider Macpherson, Ireland, and Psalmanazar, as all equally members of the swindling fraternity.

This supine acquiescence, first in the authenticity, and afterwards in the spuriousness, of the Scottish Bard, has undoubtedly been in a great measure owing to the unattractive nature of the argument. Embarrassed on all sides by the

lies and equivocations of Macpherson himself, and justly afraid of the intricacy of deep philological and antiquarian researches, on which so very few among us are capable of forming any just conclusions, we have listened with pleasure to the first train of argument that we find a little more suitable to our comprehension, and feel so willing to be convinced, that we shrink from the task of enquiring whether the reasoning is such, in all points, as to justify our conviction.

It is from this cause, principally, that Laing's Dissertation has so long been held the best rule of our faith; and, perhaps, we had rather have been permitted still to consider it so, than have been called upon in the line of our duty to examine whether the rule is sufficient or insufficient for our guidance.

Mr. Laing's grand argument cannot be stated in language more clear or forcible than his own.

*The productions of the Celtic muse would persuade us to believe that their early manners displayed a civilization inconsistent with an utter ignorance of the arts of life; an universal heroism unknown to barbarians; a gallantry which chivalry never inspired, a humanity which refinement has never equalled; and, that before their advance to the shepherd state, they possessed a correct taste, a polished diction, a cultivated and sublime poetry, enriched with the choicest images of classical antiquity, and intermixed with all the sentimental affectation of the present times. Their history contains no marks of primæval refinement, unless we can persuade ourselves that their descendants, as soon as they approached observation, degenerated on emerging from the savage state, and became more barbarous in proportion as they became more civilized.' Hist. of Scotland, Vol. III. p. 45. (2d Edition.)

We call this the *grand* argument, not only because Mr. Laing himself considers it as 'unanswerable,' but because, in our opinion, the remainder of his arguments, of those at least which are drawn from *internal* evidence, rather tend, upon the whole, to weaken than to assist his cause. Such are most of those which he has built on imagined errors in the proper names of places and persons; for instance, that (borrowed from Gibbon) of the name 'Caracul,' which, Macpherson tells us, must mean 'the Emperor Caracalla.' 'It is absurd, observed Gibbon, that the Highland bard should describe the son of Severus by a nick-name invented four years afterwards, scarcely used by the Romans till after the death of that Emperor, and seldom employed by the most ancient historians.' Now, if it were incontestibly true that

Ossian, by his Caracul or Carac-huil, meant to designate the son of Severus, still the argument, so loosely framed, would scarcely be quite conclusive. But, who tells us that Ossian did intend that emperor by the name Carac-huil? Only Macpherson; and is there any contradiction in supposing Ossian to be genuine and Macpherson to have drawn a wrong inference?

Many similar objections have been handled, and in general ably refuted by Dr. Graham in the work before us. But we abstain from entering into them more particularly, because, as we have already said, this is not the strong-hold of Mr. Laing's opposition; neither do we consider in that light his supposed detection of fallacy from the imitations of ancient and modern writers; though this branch of the argument was so convincing, in his own opinion as to have induced him to adopt a very singular mode of hostility solely on the strength of its support. He published in his own name a new edition of 'The Poems of Ossian,' with a running commentary of parallel passages, the list of which he has indeed swelled to a most enormous magnitude. But if the reasoning built on such a foundation be, as we conceive it, at all times weak and unsatisfactory, it is doubly so when applied to the works of Ossian.

In the first place, we must always bear in mind that Macpherson's translation is not so close as to exclude the possibility of his foisting in terms of expression or sentiment wholly unwarranted by the original, which would naturally be tinged with his own poetical notions, derived promiscuously from ancient and modern writers. In the second place, a broad line of distinction is to be drawn between intentional imitation and casual coincidence; and, applied to the subject before us, we think few readers will scruple to subscribe the simple and easy canons which Dr. G. has laid down in the following words:

'I. As external nature presents, in every age, the same features, varied only by the difference of climate, and the limited operations of man, accurate observers of nature will describe those appearances, in every age, and in every country, by nearly similar images, and in nearly similar language. The evolutions of the seasons, the growth and decay of vegetables, the phenomena of the atmosphere, and the various aspects under which the scenery of nature appears, are permanent; they will strike all mankind with corresponding emotions, and will, consequently, be described by all, without regard to age or country, in a corresponding manner. It is true, the scenery of Arabia, and its productions, differ widely from those of Caledonia; and it is from these instances of difference, that the

poetry and eloquence of those countries have received their distinction and peculiar colouring. But, in Arabia, as well as in Caledonia, vegetables are covered with leaves, and flowers, and fruit, which, in their seasons, unfold themselves, ripen, and decay. In both those countries, flowers are fragrant, birds sing, fields are verdant in spring, and streams flow down declivities. These objects and appearances, therefore, will be described, in nearly the same terms, and nearly under the same images, of whatever age or country the describer be.

‘II. As the grand features of external nature are universal and permanent, so, with a few variations, arising from accidental circumstances, the leading features of the human mind have been found to be nearly similar, in every age and country. All mankind, of whatever period or nation, are not only affected in nearly the same manner, by the feelings of love and hatred, desire and aversion, hope and fear; but they generally express those feelings in similar language, and by similar symbols.

‘III. We may trace, in every country, and in every period of society, a striking sameness in the general course of human affairs, as well as in the circumstances and fortunes of individuals. It belongs to the universal nature of human affairs, that the morning of youth should be cheerfully lively, and buoyant with hope; that more-advanced life should be enterprising and daring; and that old age should be infirm, querulous, and disconsolate. It is in the nature of human affairs that even the good and brave should sometimes be overwhelmed with misfortune; that the best conceived enterprises should fail; and that the unworthy should sometimes be crowned with prosperity and success. On all these striking circumstances of human affairs, accordingly, it may be expected, that observing minds will make similar reflections; and that they will express those reflections by similar images, and in similar terms.’
P. 146—152.

On examining the *plagiarisms* which Mr. Laing has collected, we were surprised at seeing how few there are, in the enormous mass, which are not fairly reducible under the head of some one of these canons. The greater number are frivolous and fanciful to an extreme, which is very disadvantageous to the general character of his investigation, since it obliges us to consider him rather in the light of a too zealous advocate who weakens his cause by his over solicitude to support it at the expence of common truth and feeling, than of a patient and philosophical enquirer, who, without prejudice on either side of the question, sets about forming his judgment in respect to it on the surest and most reasonable foundations.

Dismissing, therefore, these comparatively unimportant divisions of the controversy, let us confine our attention to

those which appear to us the principal points in dispute. We have already stated, in his own words, Mr. Laing's *grand argument* against the authenticity of Ossian. It is evident that this will be satisfactorily answered by his opponents, if they shew, first, that, in the age of the supposed Ossian, his countrymen were *not* barbarians in Mr. L.'s sense of the expression; secondly, that (however strange) it is (nevertheless) historically true, or even probable, that they were at that period more refined than they have been in subsequent times; and, in short, that the testimonies of the earliest writers do not *contradict* the supposition which other circumstances tend to *confirm*, that the manners described by Ossian were the manners of the age to which the existence of Ossian has been referred.

We have here to notice, what, we fear, is the almost necessary attendant on all controversy, a degree of disingenuity on both sides in the manner of stating the question. Mr. Laing depends on the authorities of Dio, Solinus, Gildas, but (above all) of Herodian, who, in his description of the North Britons, uses (among many similar) the following very strong, clear, and unquestionable, expressions. 'Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐσθῆτος ἴσασιν χρῆσιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν λαπαράς καὶ τὰς τραχηλὰς κοσμοῦσι σιδήρεα, &c. &c. τὰ δὲ σώματα γίζονται γραφαῖς ποικίλων ζῶων παντοδαπῶν εἰκασιν, &c. ἀσπίδα μόνην τὴν περιέβλημενοι, καὶ δορυ. ξίφος δὲ παρηρτημένοι γυμνοὺς σώματος.* Can any picture be more expressly barbarous than that conveyed by these words? or can Mr. L. be accused of drawing unjustifiable conclusions when, on the authority of these and other words in the passages referred to, he calls the Caledonians 'A nation of naked sanguinary barbarians, armed with a shield, a dart, and a dagger, which they prized like gold; and living promiscuously in wattled booths?'

But what shall we say to Dr. Graham, if he entirely passes over this *strongest* authority of his opponent, and argues only on the much *weaker* expressions of Dio Cassius, at the same time affecting to class them together by saying 'of all the ancients who have given us an account of the manners of our Caledonian ancestors, Dio and Herodian have drawn the most unfavourable pictures?' What, but that he, the doctor, is only less unfair than his adversary himself, who, in quoting Herodian, Dio, Solinus, and Gildas, absolutely omits all mention of *Tacitus* who from his high credibility is the

* Herod. L. 3. C. 47. I have quoted the original; because in such a question it is not safe to trust to any *ex parte* translations.

most important of all the witnesses, and whose testimony (though we do not think with Dr. G. it goes the length of establishing his point) is much more favourable to the state of cultivation in the highlands than that of any other ancient author.

Upon the whole, notwithstanding the advantage gained by Dr. Graham, in detecting this gross piece of jockeyship employed by his antagonist, our judgment remains in suspense between them on this point on the dispute, nor can we dare assert that, in our opinion, the advocates for Ossian have the best of the argument.

Dr. Graham pursues his chain of reasoning, if not in a strictly logical mode, at least in eloquent and poetical language.

'We know that the mode of living, the domestic accommodations, and even the external scenery which daily strikes the eye, have a powerful influence in forming the character, and in giving a tone to the ideas of a people. Even in the highlanders of the present day, whose characters have not undergone a change by the contact of foreign manners, we may still trace the mode of thinking and acting which distinguishes the personages of Ossian. Accustomed to traverse vast tracts of country which have never been subjected to the hand of art; contemplating, every day, the most diversified scenery; surrounded every where by wild and magnificent objects; by mountains, and lakes, and forests, the mind of the highlander is expanded, and partakes, in some measure, of the rude sublimity of the objects with which he is conversant. Pursuing the chase in regions not peopled according to their extent, he often finds himself alone in the gloomy deserts, or by the margin of the dark frowning deep; his imagination, tinged with pleasing melancholy finds society in the passing breeze, and he beholds the airy forms of his fathers descending on the skirts of the cloud. When the tempest howls over the heath, and the elements are mixed in dire uproar, he recognizes the angry spirit of the storm, and he retires to his secret cave. Such is, at this day, the tone of mind which characterizes the highlander, who has not lost the distinctive marks of his race by commerce with strangers; and such, too, is the picture which has been drawn by Ossian.' p. 27, &c.

The doctor now arrives at the most difficult part of his task, towards the accomplishment of which he is obliged to undertake the previous proof of the existence and establishment of the druidical order in Scotland. In order not to interrupt the immediate chain of argument he refers us for this proof to an article in the appendix; and if he does not convince us by any *direct testimony* (which he allows to be unat-

tainable) the possibility, and even probability, of the fact is brought forward sufficiently, we think, for the purposes of the dispute.

If this be granted, there is no want of *direct proofs* from writers of the highest and most unquestionable authority, that the attainments of this extraordinary class of men in matters of science and philosophy were very far removed from a state of barbarism, and equal in many respects, in some perhaps superior, to those made by the boasted civilization and refinement of Rome and Greece. It is a fact of no less notoriety that the "Celtic hierarchy" contained another class, inferior to that of the druids, and who appear not to have been admitted to a full participation with them in those high mysteries of religion and philosophy by which they affected to keep the uninitiated in a state of subjection.

This secondary order was that of "the bards," whose peculiar province was "the celebration of the heroic achievements of their warriors, and the public record of the history of the nation."

Tradition has handed down to us the following account of the extinction of the druidical order in Scotland : viz.

'That the princes of the Fingallian dynasty, who had been originally elected to the supremacy, according to the manner of the Celtic nations, only for the impending occasion, feeling themselves, at length, firmly established in their power, refused to resign it, as had always hitherto been done, to the druids; and that, in the struggle, the druids fell, and were finally extirpated.' p. 34.

With the Druids themselves, considering the exclusive and jealous system of their constitution, it is reasonable enough to conclude that science perished also. The bards might, for one or two generations, have kept alive the embers of their former illumination; but they no longer subsisted as members of a powerful body, or united in any considerable numbers among themselves, and had no incentives to the propagation of such knowledge as they possessed, any further than it was essential to the immediate views of their profession. One of Laing's objections to the poetry of Ossian is that, unlike that of Homer and of all other poets of the earliest ages, it contains no direct allusions to religious rites or ordinances, no expressions even from which the existence of a religious system can be collected; and that, aware of the "difficulty of inventing a religious mythology, the author" (meaning Macpherson) "has created a savage society of

refined atheists ; who believe in ghosts but not in deities, and are ignorant, or indifferent to the existence, of superior powers." Great part of this seeming absurdity is removed by the supposition that Ossian was, as a bard, excluded from a participation in the higher branches of knowledge professed by the druids ; and that, among these mysteries so carefully reserved, those of religion were guarded with peculiar jealousy. In this view, Dr. Graham thinks that the " omission of religion" becomes an argument for the doctrine of Ossian's authenticity, which Mr. Laing considered it as so powerful an engine to subvert.

It is also to be observed that this *absence of religion* is, in fact, only the absence of a distinct religious system with all its rites, observances, and superstitions, such as we find described in Homer.

' There is certainly to be found, in Ossian, a mythology which possesses much interest and beauty : it is of a peculiar kind indeed, but sufficiently marked, and apparently very natural, for a people in the earlier stages of society to have formed. It appears, from innumerable passages in Ossian, that it was the general opinion of his countrymen, that their ancestors existed in a disembodied state ; that they dwelt in the airy halls of the clouds ; that they continued still to interest themselves in the conduct and fortunes of their offspring ; that they possessed a prescience of future events, of which they sometimes gave intimations to their living relatives ; and, finally, that they possessed certain influences over the elements : as well as over the affairs of mortals." p. 39.

This subject is taken up more at large by Professor Richardson in a paper entitled 'The Origin of Superstition, illustrated in the Mythology of the Poems of Ossian.' This little treatise may be found in the appendix, and will give to many of our readers as much pleasure as we have ourselves derived from the perusal. It is certainly a very pleasing belief that such were the genuine sentiments of Ossian and his heroes ; if it be an error, we feel ourselves better disposed towards those who endeavour to make us participate in their delusion than to the ablest reasoners who study to persuade us out of it. Upon the whole, if we are not justified in considering this ' *unanswerable argument*' of the unbelievers as completely overthrown by Dr. Graham, we think it very fair to state the question as still at issue ; and that Mr. Laing, with all his overweening confidence of assertion, and all the self-satisfaction of his ridicule, will probably wish in vain for the club of Hercules to combat the Hydra which he imagined

to have been utterly annihilated by his mere mortal weapons. Perhaps the strongest remaining objection, which can hardly be surmounted with entire satisfaction by any peculiarities in the situation, character, and unchanging circumstances of the inhabitants of the Highlands, is this: 'granting that there has been an æra of civilization and science sufficiently advanced for the production of such poems as those of Ossian, and that Ossian actually composed his poems during that æra, and that his country subsequently relapsed into a state of barbarism from which it has but lately emerged, is it credible that those poems should have been handed down from father to son, by mere oral tradition, through a succession of sixteen centuries of comparative darkness and ignorance, in the perfect state of connexion and preservation in which Macpherson has presented them to us?' The supposition is certainly difficult and hard of digestion. Nevertheless, we will not, like Mr. Laing, treat it as an absurd and impossible one, nor say that if the other evidences of authenticity are sufficiently positive, we shall continue to refuse our belief on this ground only.

We now come to an entirely different branch of the question, but having been led in the course of our preceding observations to so much greater a length of detail than we originally proposed, it becomes necessary for us to curtail our remarks on the remaining heads, though perhaps, the most important of any.

The plain and sensible demand of Dr. Johnson, 'produce the manuscripts,' will be remembered; it will also be remembered that Macpherson, in a real or mock passion, utterly refused to gratify a request which seemed to imply a doubt of his veracity. Whether Macpherson was most fool, or rogue, in this refusal, scarcely remains a doubt, when we compare this proceeding with the whole series of his conduct in the business. If his roguery is certain, the only question will be whether he was a rogue towards Ossian or towards the world in general. On considering the character of the man, it appears very possible that his vanity made him a traitor to his own cause, and that he, actually wished to leave the matter in a state of uncertainty so that half the world, at least, might rank him as the *author* of the poems in question. Perhaps, he laughed in his sleeve at the solemn and acrimonious debates to which his duplicity gave birth, and said, with secret self applause, 'Nay, if these dotards will ascribe to me the honours of authorship, I am not bound to break the illusion so favourable to my literary fame.' All

this may be thought *possible* (for nothing seems impossible when we reason concerning the operations of vanity on the mind of so strange and perverse a being); and it becomes, of course, the province of Ossian's defenders to endeavour to make it be thought *probable* also.

With regard to the production of the MSS. the only testimony in Macpherson's favour is contained in the following loose memorandum of Dr. Graham:

'In an advertisement prefixed to Fingal, he tells us, 'that some men of genius advised him to print the originals by subscription rather than deposit them in a public library.' I have accordingly seen, in the London Magazine for the year 1784 or 1785, an advertisement, published on the occasion of the indecent controversy between Dr. Johnson and Mr. Macpherson, by Becket, the bookseller in the Strand, certifying that the originals of Ossian had lain at his shop for subscription at some former period (as far as I recollect, 1774 or 1775) for the space of a whole year; but that the number of subscriptions being inadequate to the expence of publication, the MSS. had been withdrawn.' p. 259.

After this, instead of making any further pretences of producing MSS. he *printed* what he called the original of the seventh book of Temora, besides some other trifling fragments in his next edition of Ossian. We are now told, in addition to this, that before his death, Macpherson left the '*entire originals*,' in the hands of Mr. Mackenzie of the Temple, London, and, by a printed notice, dated Edinburgh, 1st February 1806, and signed by Sir John Sinelair 'we are informed that all these are now about to be published under the inspection of the Highland society.' But let not our readers be misled by the expression *entire originals*, to imagine that *any ancient MSS.* were left by Macpherson—No, these *originals*, it is understood, are all in a modern hand, transcribed by Mr. Macpherson himself, or by his amanuensis.

After all, then, the question remains unanswered, 'Where are the *originals*?' 'Burnt, or destroyed, doubtless, by Macpherson in a fit of spleen, or in pursuance of his roguish design of ascribing to himself the merits of authorship.' This *may* be true; but we have no proof of it, and therefore are still, in the last place, to consider whether it is most probable that Macpherson *forged* the MSS. which lay at Becket's, and *composed* the pretended originals (both those which appeared in his last edition of Ossian, and those which are now about to be published by the Highland society,) or whether

the MSS. at Becket's were *genuine*, and the Gaelic versions fair and honest *copies* of those MSS.

With regard to the first, Dr. Graham asks,

'Can it be supposed, that, in London, where there were then, as there are still, many learned Highlanders, well versed in the language and antiquities of their country; and rendered anxious, by recent circumstances, for the honour of their national poetry, Mr. Macpherson would have ventured to expose, during so long a period, a mass of spurious verse, as the genuine production of the Celtic bard?'

The arguments respecting the latter again split themselves into two divisions, both which are very elaborately treated by Dr. Graham; and, we think, with very considerable success. His first point is, to prove that Macpherson was *incapable*, from his limited and ungrammatical knowledge of the Gaelic language, of composing a string of verses in that language of any length, such as should deceive the most moderate scholar.

This, as far as it goes, is, in our apprehension, very completely proved. But still it will be asked, 'Is it certain that Macpherson had no colleagues in his roguery? and might not those colleagues have understood Gaelic better than himself?' To this it may be answered, that it is not probable, that the secrets of an imposture so strictly convassed, and the subject of such violent dispute for nearly half a century, should have been known to more persons than one, and not have experienced a complete detection, especially when the other persons concerned were of so much importance to the success of the scheme, that they could not but feel some jealousies of their principal enriching himself with the profits of their own labours.

But the question will be more satisfactorily answered, if we can persuade ourselves that the pretended originals contain such strong, *internal*, marks of authenticity as to render it morally impossible, not only that Mr. Macpherson, but that any other person whatsoever of the present age, however eminently 'skilled in the language, should have invented them.

We must, ourselves confess our ignorance of the Gaelic, nevertheless, we are able sufficiently to understand the scope and tenor of Dr. Graham's arguments on this important point; and may safely add that they carry with them a very strong persuasion, if not positive conviction, to our minds. The papers left with Mr. Mackenzie being still unpublished

these arguments are, of necessity, confined to the *Temora* and the minor fragments published by Macpherson in his life time ; and, in order to illustrate more clearly the system of reasoning he has adopted, as well as to enable *believers* to appreciate the fidelity of Macpherson's labours, Dr. Graham has subjoined a *literal* translation of the seventh book of *Temora* from the version so published by Macpherson, accompanied by Macpherson's own translation of the same, in the margin. To a curious reader this new translation will, of itself, afford several striking evidences in confirmation of the general argument.

We have so far transgressed our ordinary limits that no room is now left us for farther comment, though we are conscious of having omitted many strong *particular* arguments, in taking our survey of the *general* evidence before us. If we do not say that Dr. Graham has according to the too assuming language of his title-page, effectually *refuted* Mr. Laing, we can at least affirm that, in the state in which he leaves the question, the balance, in our opinion, inclines against the unbelievers. The publication of the new manuscripts will certainly tend to strengthen one side or other of the argument ; and, till that event takes place, we must all leave it as Dr. Graham has left it. We will only add that, as we can never expect such evidence on either side as the rules of Westminster-Hall require, so we earnestly wish that the mode of pleading may no longer be taken from the model of the King's Bench ; and, above all, we would counsel Mr. Laing to confess with shame and repentance the many and gross misrepresentations in which Dr. Graham has detected him, and which are almost as well calculated to make converts to the opposite party among men of sense and moderation, as the most logical and unanswerable arguments.

ART. III.—*Commerce defended, an Answer to the Arguments by which Mr. Spence, Mr. Cobbett, and others, have attempted to prove that Commerce is not a Source of national Wealth. By James Mill, Esq. Author of an Essay on the Impolicy of a Bounty on the Exportation of Corn.* 8vo. 4s. Baldwin. 1808.

MR. Spence's and Mr. Cobbett's paradoxical assertions respecting commerce have experienced a much more favourable reception in this country than they appear to have

deserved, or than we should have expected that they would have obtained in a state which is indebted to commerce for so many and such diversified sources of comfort and of happiness. That we might subsist without commerce we by no means pretend to deny; as, perhaps, by a similar process of deterioration, in opposition to the successive improvements of an increased civilization, we might learn to go without clothes and to run wild in the woods. All this and more may be in the limits of physical possibility; but we have always been used to consider the state of man as improved in proportion as it recedes from a state of nature and of barbarism. We have always hailed commerce as one of the great means which have been designed by Providence to raise us above the level of our natural condition; to improve the social condition of man, to mitigate the evils, and to multiply the pleasures of human life.

The means of enjoyment cannot be so great where there is no commerce as where there is; for foreign commerce combines the means of enjoyment which nature or industry has accumulated in other countries with those which are found in our own. Where there is no foreign commerce, the quantity of exertion cannot be so great, because the means of excitement must be less. This plain argument proves at once that foreign commerce increases national wealth, for may not the wealth of a country be most philosophically considered as relative to the quantity of its industry proportioned to its population? Commerce, in proportion as it increases the national stock of industry, must augment the national stock of wealth.

Agriculture itself is indebted for much of its encouragement to commerce. For among the excitements which operate on the farmer, or land-owner, to produce as much as he can more than is requisite for his own subsistence, must be reckoned the desire of procuring objects, not only of domestic but of foreign gratification. Every bale of goods, every chest of tea, bag of coffee, cask of sugar, or pipe of wine which we import from abroad, by multiplying the incitements to exertion, tends by no very circuitous process to fertilize the soil, to increase the number of blades of grass, and of ears of corn. This short way of considering the subject, appears a sufficient refutation of the sophisms of Mr. Spence; and of the assertions of Mr. Cobbett, a writer, who thinks to confound his adversaries by the terrors of his impudence; whose countenance is made of brass, and whose heart possesses the properties of stone.

If in a state of advanced civilization one man, who is employed in agriculture, can raise food enough for ten, it is clear that the other nine-tenths of the population may be employed in manufactures, &c. But in a nation, in which one tenth part is employed in agriculture, and the other nine-tenths in manufactures, those nine-tenths will be able to produce a surplus of manufactures more than is sufficient for the home supply. But commerce enables the manufacturer to dispose of his surplus labour to the most advantage. A manufacturer sends abroad that part of his products which is not wanted at home ; and receives in return, gold, silver, wine, oil, fruit, timber, hemp, tallow, with an abundance of raw materials, which are converted into costly manufactures. Thus the intervention of commerce becomes the means of keeping up the value of manufactures at home, while it supplies the grower of food with numerous articles of convenience and enjoyment, which he could not otherwise possess ; and thus it stimulates the agricultural industry, and multiplies the agricultural products of the country. These thoughts were suggested to our mind on the first perusal of Mr. Spence's pamphlet ; and we are happy to find them in unison with those of so able a writer, and so close a reasoner as Mr. Mill.

In his introduction, Mr. Mill thus characterises his two antagonists, Messrs. Spence and Cobbett, but we think his portrait of the latter, rather flattering than correct.

‘ Mr. Spence appears from his pamphlet to have a considerable turn for abstract thinking, and to be a man of pretty extensive reading in political economy. But his mind has not been trained in the logic of enlarged and comprehensive views. He does not judge of an extensive and complicated subject from an exact knowledge of all its parts, of their various connections, and relative importance. It is enough for him to seize some leading object, or some striking relation, and from these to draw conclusions with ingenuity to the whole.

‘ Mr. Cobbett is an author who deals more in assertion than proof ; and therefore a writer who gives reasons for what Mr. Cobbett affirms, is a very convenient coadjutor. He seems, accordingly, to have been charmed with the appearance of Mr. Spence's pamphlet ; and has republished the principal part of that gentleman's reasonings, in his *Political Register*. Even the assertions of Mr. Cobbett, I am by no means disposed to treat with neglect. He seems to form his opinions more frequently from a sort of intuition, than from argument. His mind is but little accustomed to spread out, as it were, before itself, the intermediate ideas on which its conclusions are founded ; and the nature of the education

which it has received, from its own unaided progress and exertions, sufficiently accounts for this peculiarity. It does not follow that his opinions are not founded on evidence, and that they do not frequently exhibit much sagacity. It is often the form, rather than the matter, in which he is deficient. Even on some pretty difficult questions of political economy, (those, for example, respecting the corn-trade,) he has discovered a clearness and justness of thought, which but few of our scientific reasoners have reached. On a subject, more perverted at least by passion, the structure of society, his mind, untainted by theory, or rather emancipated by its own vigour and honesty from a pernicious theory which it had imbibed, has seized the doctrines of wisdom and prosperity, without the aid of many examples. He has assumed the patronage of the poor, at a time when they are depressed below the place which they have fortunately held in this country for a century, and when the current of our policy runs to depress them still farther. At a time, too, when every tongue and every pen seem formed to adulation, when nothing is popular but praises of men in power, and whatever tendency to corruption may exist receives in this manner double encouragement, he has the courage boldly to arraign the abuses of government and the vices of the great. This is a distinction which, with all his defects, ranks him among the most eminent of his countrymen.

Messrs. Spence and Cobbett, endeavour to make their argument borrow some assistance from our fears; but Mr. Mill shews that our commercial greatness is not likely to be annihilated by the utmost rancour of our enemy, and that the world will furnish numerous places of vent for our manufactures, notwithstanding our exclusion from the continent of Europe.

‘ Let us only contemplate for one moment the vast extent of the habitable globe, and consider how small in comparison is that portion of coast over which the sway of Bonaparte extends; and we shall probably conclude, with considerable confidence, that in the wide world channels will be found for all the commerce, to which this little island can administer. Let us look first at the United States of America. To these, we have for years sent more goods of British manufacture than to the whole continent of Europe. The vast commerce of the West India Islands, next comes naturally in view. The immense extent of Portuguese and Spanish America, whose communication with manufacturing countries, may in a great measure be confined to ourselves, will, notwithstanding the disadvantages under which they labour, furnish a growing demand for the produce of our industry. Even the coasts of Africa, miserable as their condition is, might present to the careful explorer something better for the commodities which he may offer, than their

wretched population: The Cape of Good Hope itself, improved by British wisdom and British capital, opens a field of boundless extent. The vast shores of the Indian ocean, both continental and insular, with their unrivalled productions, are all our own. Whatever the ingenuity of the Indian, the Malay, and the Chinese can produce, or their various and productive soils can yield, is ready to be exchanged for the commodities which we can supply to the wants of that immense population.'

If we were to allow the anti-commercial principles of Messrs. Spence and Cobbett, the most rational inference would be, that all taxes should be laid immediately and exclusively on the land. This proposition would not perhaps be very agreeable to our country gentlemen; who pay only a small part of the taxes, compared with that which is derived from the merchant and the manufacturer.

'How insignificant a proportion, says Mr. Mill, does the land-tax now bear to the taxes on consumable commodities? The land-tax has remained without augmentation, while the permanent taxes have risen from little more than two millions to upwards of two and forty millions a year, and while the value of land has risen from fourteen or fifteen years purchase to thirty years purchase and upwards. The landholders, therefore, have little foundation for complaining, though the policy of the country has frequently appeared to favour mercantile rather than agricultural industry.'

Mr. Mill employs the term *wealth*, the indefinite use of which causes such confusion, contradiction, and absurdity in the work of Mr. Spence, to denote objects which have a value in exchange! 'Wealth,' says Mr. M. 'is relative to the term value. The term value has in common acceptance two meanings. It signifies either value in use or value in exchange. Thus water has great value in use, but commonly has no value in exchange; that is to say nothing can be obtained for it in purchase. On the other hand, a diamond or a ruby has little or no value in use, but great value in exchange.'

Mr. Spence says that commerce is a mere exchange, which does not increase the quantity of wealth. But Mr. Spence did not recollect that a commodity may be of one value in one place and of another value in another place. 'A ton of hemp, for example, which in Russia is worth 50*l.* in Great Britain is worth 65*l.* When we have exported therefore a quantity of British goods which in Britain is worth 50*l.* and have imported in lieu of them a ton of hemp which is worth 65*l.* the riches of the country are by

this exchange increased fifteen pounds.' Supposing commerce for a moment to be a mere exchange of commodities, it is at least an exchange of what we do not want for what we do; or an exchange of that which we want less for that which we want more. In this point of view, and considering wealth as the means of particular gratification, commerce must be regarded as the source of wealth. For if A. have a superfluity of corn, and a deficiency of broad cloth, and if B. have more broad cloth than he requires, but less corn than he needs, the exchange between A. and B. must be considered as making an addition to the wealth of both. Both are gainers by the exchange. Thus the tendency of commerce is to augment the wealth of all the parties. If two countries have each certain superfluities, which the other wants, they are both made richer by the exchange. For one part with that which, if kept, would be a loss, for that which, when acquired, is a gain. When England exchanges her superfluous hardware for the iron and hemp of Russia, the transaction increases her wealth and stimulates her industry. It generally happens in most commercial exchanges that one nation obtains what will excite a greater portion of productive industry for that which was procured by a less. Thus if England give to Russia, or any other country, manufactures which were produced by a portion of industry equal to 8, and receives in return goods which will excite a degree of industry equal to 12; this exchange must be considered as making so much addition to the wealth and prosperity of the country.

Mr. Spence draws an invidious distinction between commodities of durable and those of a more perishable nature; but he forgets that articles of food, in which he sometimes seems to imagine that all wealth consists, have the smallest claim to the praise of durability. The produce of the land consists chiefly of articles of immediate consumption.

'To make indeed any distinction, says Mr. Mills, between articles of necessity, and articles of luxury, is absolutely nugatory. Whenever a country advances a considerable way beyond the infancy of society, it is a small portion of the members of the community who are employed in providing the mere necessities of life. By far the greater proportion of them are employed in providing supply to other wants of man. Now in this case, as well as in the former, the sole question is, whether a particular description of wants can be most cheaply supplied at home or abroad. If a cer-

tain number of manufacturers employed at home can, while they are consuming 100 quarters of corn, fabricate a quantity of goods, which goods will purchase abroad a portion of supply to some of the luxurious wants of the community which it would have required the consumption of 150 quarters at home to produce; in this case too the country is 50 quarters the richer for the importation. It has the same supply of luxuries for 50 quarters of corn less, than if that supply had been prepared at home.'

Mr. Spence says that commodities, which are of a durable nature, are much more valuable as articles of wealth than articles which are of a perishable nature. This sort of reasoning would prove wealth to consist rather in the products of the smelting-house than of the land, rather in hardware than in bread and butcher's meat. On this and on other occasions Mr. Mill, with admirable effect, exposes the contradictions and incongruities in the system of Mr. Spence with great force and perspicuity. If the wealth of a nation bear any relation to the quantity of industry, or of productive labour which it contains, it follows that perishable articles must have a greater tendency to excite the active powers of production than those which are durable from the more continual and general stimulus to exertion which the former supply. Mr. Spence is a great admirer of the doctrines of the *economists*, but he yet confesses that that '*system could be acted upon only by the passing an Agrarian law; by the division of the whole soil of a country in equal portions amongst its inhabitants.*' Such a change is evidently so inapplicable to the present or to any state of society which can ever take place in any period of the world; that the present commercial system is infinitely preferable to that which is recommended by Messrs. Spence, Cobbett, and their predecessors the *Economists*.

In Mr. M.'s 6th chapter on *consumption*, we think that he has very ably and ingeniously refuted the sophistry of Mr. Spence on that subject; and proved in the clearest manner that 'the production of commodities creates and is the one and universal cause which creates a market for the commodities produced.'

'Let us but consider,' says the author, 'what is meant by a market. Is any thing else understood by it than that something is ready to be exchanged for the commodity which we would dispose of? When goods are carried to market what is wanted is somebody to buy. But to buy, one must have wherewithal to pay. It is obviously therefore the collective means of payment which exist in the whole nation that constitute the entire market of the nation.'

But wherein consist the collective means of payment of the whole nation? Do they not consist in its annual produce, in the annual revenue of the general mass of its inhabitants? But if a nation's power of purchasing is exactly measured by its annual produce, as it undoubtedly is, the more you increase the annual produce, the more by that very act you extend the national market, the power of purchasing, and the actual purchases of the nation.'

In Mr. Mill's concluding chapter, entitled '*General Reflections*,' we meet with many remarks of which we highly approve; and among them we reckon those which are adverse to war in general, and those particularly which evince the wisdom and policy of terminating the present war.

'In every country,' says Mr. Mill, 'where industry is free, and where men are secure in the enjoyment of what they acquire, the greatest improvement which the government can possibly receive is a steady and enlightened aversion to war. While such a nation remains at peace, the faults of the government can hardly ever be so great, that the merits of the nation will not more than compensate them, and that society from its own beneficent tendency will not improve. Nothing however can compensate the destruction of war. The creative efforts of individuals can never equal its gigantic consumption, and the seeds of prosperity are eaten up.'

'We confidently assume that the advocates of war can point out no time at which there is the smallest probability we can terminate the war with more advantage than we can at the present. Britain and France seem now to be come to that position in which neither can any longer do much harm to the other. France can do nothing to affect our maritime superiority, and we can do nothing to affect her superiority on land. The two countries, may persist in wasting each other, and perpetuating the misery of their respective populations; they may render each other positively weaker as well as more wretched, but neither will have gained any relative advantage, because the causes of decline in both will operate equally.'

It would give us pleasure to occupy more of our review with the consideration of Mr. Mill's pamphlet; but we are prevented by the numerous productions of the press, which importunately demand a proportionate share of our critical attention. We trust however that we have shewn enough of the spirit and the execution of Mr. Mill's performance to prove its excellence; and to induce our readers to purchase such a valuable antidote to those anti-commercial sophisms, to which the wide-spreading mischief of Mr. Cobbett's paper has given such a general circulation.

ART. IV.—*The Scenery, Antiquities, and Biography of South Wales.* By B. H. Malkin, Esq. 2 Vols. 2d Edition. Longman.

BOOKS of travels have gradually become an important department of European literature. The curiosity and enterprize of mankind, aided by their improved modes of communication, have within the last three centuries, nearly completed the discovery of the habitable world. Countries separated from us by half the circumference of the globe, are united by the constant exchange of intercourse, and have in many instances been described with a minuteness and accuracy, which, by rendering them familiar to our enquiry, almost destroy in imagination the sense of intervening distance.

While curiosity has been thus powerfully excited to explore the external face of regions widely distant, and to examine the manners of their inhabitants, scenes of domestic grandeur and beauty, and objects of national importance have often been suffered to lie unregarded. Men of taste and learning have been familiar with the remains of classical antiquity, scattered with abundance over the face of Europe; the mountains, vales, and skies of Italy, have been celebrated by travellers and poets; while many monuments of their native country, which still remain as the most impressive memorials of transactions recorded in its history, and its varieties of climate, soil, and aspect, have been little known to them even by report.

It has at length been discovered that our own land contains much that is deserving of the examination of a liberal curiosity; that it is by no means deficient in picturesque scenery, in works of art, and important monuments of its own antiquities. Recent travellers have, therefore, in many instances wisely directed their steps to those parts of their native country which are interesting by their natural features, of their ancient fame, or as the seats of the manufactures, commerce, and agriculture, to which we owe much of our national distinction.

Among the interesting districts of country contained within this island, Wales stands preeminent. It preserves one of the few and scanty remnants existing of a class of population, which once overspread the greater part of Europe. The historians regard it as the asylum of retreating liberty. The admirer of the beauties of nature, finds in it inexhaustible objects of admiration, a scenery of mingled grandeur

and beauty presented to his eye on a scale not too vast for apprehension, and yet sufficiently expanded to admit the characters of sublimity and grandeur in their highest degree.

The northern part of Wales, in consequence of its more mountainous aspect, presents more striking objects than the southern districts. The latter, however, has more variety of nature and art, and has been less visited; reasons which probably determined Mr. Malkin in the choice of his subject. It is now our intention to follow in a hasty sketch the line of his progress, and can promise that to those who may wish to pursue his steps, or to those less enterprising examiners, who are content to avail themselves of the observations of others, he will prove an entertaining and instructive guide.

An introductory chapter is properly devoted to the history of Wales, without some knowledge of which the antiquities, which the traveller has occasion to observe, must be very obscure. In this dark subject the life and exploits of Arthur naturally claim attention, and the existence of this hero is with reason vindicated against the scepticism of Milton and other historians.

The six counties of South Wales are arranged in the following order; Glamorgan, Brecknock, Radnor, Cardigan, Pembroke, and Caermarthen. The plan adopted by Mr. Malkin in his survey, will be best explained by himself.

'The following tour was performed in the months of June, July, August, September, and October, 1803. The plan which I adopted was that of walking; but taking a servant on horseback, for the conveyance of books as well as necessaries, without which convenience almost every advantage of a pedestrian is lost, except economy, and that is completely frustrated by so expensive an addition. It is not in my power to carry my reader from stage to stage in the order in which I performed my journey, because I made two circuits of South Wales, one in June and July, the other in August, September, and October, and by this arrangement, enjoyed the beauties of the two seasons. On both occasions I visited the following places: Lantrisant, Cardiff, Brecknock, Buallt, Rhayader, Aberystwith, Cardigan, Haverford West, Pembroke, Tenby, Landilo, Vawr, Swansea, Neath, and Bridgend; beginning and ending on both occasions with Cowbridge. At each of these places I arrived by a totally different route, which enabled me to comprehend at least two-thirds of each county; and as it would be tediously uninteresting to the reader to be informed as to the precise time at which each point of view was observed, I shall only draw his attention to personal circumstances on occasions, when the appearance of nature result-

ed peculiarly from the state of the seasons, or when the authenticity of my information was materially strengthened, by the sources from which it was derived. On paper, therefore, I shall for the most part steer my course, in the direction pointed out by the map; a regularity which will, I hope, more than compensate for the omission of those roadside anecdotes, which fill the page with a very disproportionate entertainment, and little accession to the stock of useful matter.'

Glamorgan is the southern maritime county. The aspect of the country is various and striking. It is watered by many beautiful rivers, of which Drayton has given a poetical enumeration. The scenery of this county, by the abruptness of its mountains, is said to exhibit more of the wild and grand character of North Wales, than appears in any other part of the southern district. The country is not deficient in wood, either in its level and cultivated, or in its mountainous tracts. A peculiarity in its surface which frequently occurs, is deserving of notice. In the flat parts, and near the sea, at the greatest distance from the mountains, seeing, as you imagine, the whole surface of the ground for a considerable stretch, you come suddenly on an abrupt sinking, not deep, but perpendicular as the side of a crag, of more or less extent, forming as rich, woody, and retired shelter, the picturesque properties of which contrast most delightfully with the uniform dulness of corn fields. The county is distinguished by nature into two divisions of unequal extent, a flat and fertile tract, bordering the sea, and a mountainous and rugged district spreading into the interior of the country.

The soil in many parts of the county of Glamorgan is naturally fertile in a high degree, but agriculture is somewhat neglected. Yet good land, in favourable situations, finds a price almost as high as in the immediate vicinity of London.

The country is remarkably abundant in useful minerals, which principally contribute to its wealth; coal, iron, and lime stone.

The chief trees of native growth, are the oak, the beech, and the ash, which, with other common forest trees, flourish in the mountainous parts. Various exotics have been introduced, and such is the mildness of the climate on some parts of the coast, that myrtles grow and flourish, in the open air without being housed, in winter.

The inhabitants of the county of Glamorgan exceed seventy thousand. Its manufactures and commerce are in a flourishing state, and the prices of provisions and labour have, in consequence been much enhanced.

The people are in general well educated. Few persons in the towns are unable to read; and even in the villages and mountainous parts, schools are common. Besides the general peculiarities of Welsh manners, some singular customs are prevalent in Glamorganshire, and the adjoining counties. On occasion of a marriage, a kind of pantomime is acted by the friends of the parties, representing a violent seizure of the bride by her lover, and a fruitless attempt of her relatives to rescue her, which often create much annoyance on the high road. The graves of the dead continue for many years to be strewed with flowers, as a symbol of affection and respect, from surviving relatives and dependents.

The style of building is somewhat peculiar. The cottages are substantial, and many of them very ancient. It is the general practice to whiten them, which gives an appearance of neatness and gaiety to the villages.

Glamorganshire was part of the territory of the Silures, one of the most warlike tribes of the Britons. It was likewise included in the Welsh kingdom of Dinevowr. At some periods of its history it constituted an independent lordship. During the dissensions of some native chiefs, the dangerous assistance of the Norman barons was called in, who, like their brethren in Italy, ultimately made themselves masters of the country. The portions into which the spoil was divided, are enumerated by a Welsh historian.

The ancient purity of the Welsh language is supposed to be best preserved in the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth. Many ancient words, which are elsewhere obsolete, are here retained in common use.

There is a description of ancient buildings, numerous in this district, passing under the name of church houses, belonging to the parishes in which they happen to stand, and applied to public purposes. They are supposed by Mr. Malkin to have been the courts of legislation and justice for the many petty lordships into which the lordship of Glamorgan was divided. Cardiff, Caerphilly, and Caera are supposed to have been Roman stations. The country was pervaded by a Roman road, of which the traces remain.

Many interesting topographical circumstances occur in the description of this county. At St. Fagan's was fought during the civil wars a memorable battle, which almost annihilated the royal party in Wales. The two most important towns in Wales, Merthyr Tydvil and Swansea are situ-

ated in the same county. The former of these places, is rapidly rising into opulence and importance.

Swansea is the seat of a considerable and rapidly advancing commerce.

Among the eminent persons to whom the county of Glamorgan has given birth, we find the name of Sir Leolinus Jenkins, of whom the following interesting circumstances are related :

‘ He was the son of Jenkin Llewellyn, a small freeholder, and was instructed in the rudiments of the Latin and Greek languages at a grammar school in Cowbridge, whence he was removed to Oxford at the age of sixteen, and admitted a member of Jesus College in the year 1641. But, on the breaking out of the civil wars, after having taken up arms for the royal cause, though he did not long continue in a military capacity, he was under the necessity of leaving the university, and of returning to Glamorganshire. In a short time, he was engaged as a tutor for the son of sir John Aubrey, at Lantrythid, which was then an asylum to the persecuted royalists. Here he became acquainted with many eminent characters, and amongst others, with Dr. Frewyn, archbishop of York, and with Dr. Sheldon, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. Having been forced, by the misfortunes of the times, to leave the kingdom, after a second attempt to settle in Oxford, he travelled, during the period of three years, over a great part of France, Germany and Holland, by which means he acquired a proficiency in the languages of those countries. At the restoration, he returned to Jesus College, and was elected one of the fellows. Soon after, on the resignation of Dr. Mansel, he was unanimously chosen principal of the society. When the Dutch war increased the business and fatigues of the court, he was, in consequence of his profound knowledge in civil and maritime law, made assistant to Dr. Exton, judge of the admiralty : and after he had exercised his functions jointly for some time, on the death of the principal he was himself appointed sole judge ; in which situation his charges and decisions are deservedly held in repute even to the present day. In the year 1668, he was appointed by the archbishop of Canterbury, at the express desire of king Charles the Second, to succeed Dr. Meiric as judge in the prerogative court of Canterbury : and his conduct in each court was honourable to himself, in proportion as it was satisfactory and beneficial to his country. Henrietta Maria, the widow of Charles the First, died in France in the year 1669. Her property was claimed by her nephew Lewis the Fourteenth. Dr. Jenkins with three others was commissioned to go to Paris, where he demanded and recovered the queen-mother's effects, discharged her debts, and provided for her interment : and king Charles the Second, to testify his high approbation of the services performed in this instance,

conferred on him the honour of knighthood on his return to England. His next appointment was to be one of the commissioners on the part of England, to treat with those authorized from Scotland about an union between the two kingdoms. He was chosen a representative in parliament for Hythe in Kent, one of the Cinque Ports, in the year 1671. In 1673, having resigned his situation as principal of Jesus College, this rising statesman was appointed to attend a congress at Cologne, as ambassador and plenipotentiary with others, for the purpose of attempting to settle a treaty of peace under the mediation of Sweden, between the Emperor, Spain, and Holland, on the one part, and England and France on the other. The negotiation having failed at Cologne, he was appointed one of the mediators in the discussion of the treaty at Nemiguen, in conjunction with the celebrated sir William Temple. From Nemiguen he was appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Hague, where having continued a short time, he returned to Nemiguen, and succeeded most happily in accommodating all differences. In 1679, he returned to England, after having been employed above four years in a tedious treaty. Soon after his arrival in England, he was elected one of the representatives for the university of Oxford. In 1680, he was sworn a privy counsellor, and was appointed secretary of state. He retained the seals about four years, during a period of uncommon difficulty, owing to party rancour and animosity. On resigning his office as secretary of state, in consequence of his declining health, he retired to Hammersmith, between three and four miles from the metropolis: but having been again elected a member for the university of Oxford, he was sworn of the privy council, after the accession of James the Second. But his indisposition speedily returned, and he died on the first of September, 1685. His remains were conveyed to Oxford, and interred in the area of Jesus College chapel, where there is an epitaph written in Latin by his friend Dr. Fell, at that time bishop of Oxford and dean of Christ Church, which enumerates his offices and honours in regular progression, and concludes with styling him almost a second founder of Jesus. Having never been married, his whole estate was bequeathed to charitable uses; and by far the greatest part of it was left after his death to that college, which he had so liberally patronized in his life-time. The events, which are here sketched, require no comment: but I would briefly call the attention of my reader to the circumstance, that this distinguished knight, doctor of laws, judge, privy counsellor, and secretary of state, was not worth a surname. The son of Jenkin Llewellyn, a common combination to this day, became sir Llewellyn Jenkin, according to the very singular custom of this country; but the latter noun, to comply with English manners, was pluralized into a permanent surname, and, had he been married, would probably have given birth to a higher race of Jenkins's. It adds not a little to the pleasure, with

which we contemplate so deserved an elevation, that Jenkin Llewellyn and Elizabeth his wife both lived till the year 1667, and consequently shared in the prosperity of their son.'

Brecknockshire is a mountainous district, almost rivalling in elevation the eminences of North Wales. It is interspersed with level extensive vallies, susceptible of high cultivation, nor is agriculture neglected. The manufactures of the county are unimportant. Its population is estimated to exceed thirty thousand. From its constant intercourse with England, the prevalence of English manners and habits is beginning to be apparent.

Radnorshire is watered by the celebrated river Wye. Its eastern part partakes much of an English character, and though a fine and beautiful country, is deficient in those traits of grandeur by which Wales in general is distinguished. Its western part rises into majestic mountains. The agriculture, which has been neglected, seems at present to be improving, chiefly in consequence of the spirited exertions and example of a few gentlemen of the county.

The English language is to such a degree prevalent in Radnorshire, that a peasant is seldom found who understands Welsh. The English, as is usually the case where it has supplanted a previous language, is spoken with remarkable purity. Radnor has ceased to be the capital of the county to which it gives its name, Presteign being at present the principal town, and the seat of public business.

Aberidwy castle was the final refuge of Llewellyn ap Gruffyth, the last independent prince of Wales. Of his capture and death an interesting account is given by Mr. Malkin, Vol. 1st. p. 440, &c.

Cardiganshire, in objects of a magnificence surpasses the other counties of South Wales. Its general character is wild and awful sublimity, with little beauty or richness. In some places it rises into lofty mountains, in others sinks into deep precipitous gulfs. The county abounds in mineral productions; which are, however, in a great degree neglected, and, owing to the scarcity of coals cannot be very profitably manufactured.

The improvement of the country is said to be materially impeded by the absence of many of the principal proprietors, who content themselves with drawing their ample revenues from it, and contribute nothing in their turn by example or exertion to the advantage of the district which is the source of their wealth. A few very honourable ex-

ceptions however occur. Having been little visited by travellers of curiosity, and being remote from the seats of commerce and established lines of intercourse, Cardiganshire is much confined within itself, and retains in a great degree its ancient peculiarities of manners and language. It is distinguished by the common virtue of unfrequented countries, hospitality.

The resistance offered by the Britons to the Romans, appears to have been much less determined and persevering than that opposed to the Saxons, as indeed the disparity of skill and discipline was much greater in the former than in the latter case. Traces of Roman establishments occur even in the most distant and rugged parts of Wales.

The foot of Plinlimmon, one of the most celebrated mountains in Wales, is in this province, 'but its bald and weather-beaten head is at the distance of several miles in Montgomeryshire. I know not,' says the author, 'whether, according to the ancient division it might not have spurned the limits of a single kingdom. Yet after all, it is more properly to be considered as a vast bed of mountains, piled one upon another; of Alps upon Alps, Pelion upon Ossa, or any other magnificent image which the reader may incline to affect.' Havod the well known seat of the accomplished Mr. Johnes, forms one of the principal ornaments of Cardiganshire.

This gentleman has lately sustained a severe loss in the destruction of his house by fire. The pictures were saved, but nearly all the books were destroyed. We are happy to mention, on the authority of Mr. Malkin, that Mr. Johnes is already employed in the restoration of his mansion, and that some valuable collections of books, which had been recently purchased, had not, at the time of this calamity, reached the place of their destination.

Beavers are said to have abounded formerly on the banks of the Tivy. The truth of this account has been questioned, but is admitted by Mr. Malkin on the authority of Giraldus, supported by his particular and accurate account of the animal, and the remarkable manner in which it constructs its habitation.

Pembrokeshire is rendered remarkable by a colony of Flemings, who are said to have been driven out of their country, in the reign of Henry the first by an inundation, and to have ultimately fixed their seats in this county. The descendants of these people are supposed still to exist, differing from the surrounding Welsh in manners and language. They speak the English with considerable purity, a circum-

stance probably to be ascribed to the intermixture of Saxons in the colony. The population of Pembrokeshire is considerable, amounting to nearly sixty thousand. Instances of longevity are numerous. The country is level, and bears a considerable resemblance to England in aspect, as well as in the manners of its inhabitants. Of the seven hundreds of which the county consists, four are English, and three Welsh. Pembrokeshire contains the episcopal see of St. David's, of whose cathedral Mr. Malkin gives an interesting description, which we regret that we are unable to insert.

Caermarthenshire completes the circuit of South Wales. The north and eastern parts rise into mountains, which occupy a considerable part of the county; and possess the dreary aspect common to such districts, without the sublimity of which they usually partake. The trade of the county is considerable, though inferior to that of the neighbouring province of Glamorgan.

We consider Mr. Malkin's work as entitled to rank with the most interesting and valuable domestic tours. He has selected for the subject of his investigation a tract of country, less frequently visited indeed than many others, but eminently rich in the beauties of nature, not deficient in memorials of history and antiquity, in works of art, in natural sources of wealth, or activity of commercial and patriotic enterprise. By its difference of language and manners, Wales possesses something of the interest which we attach to a foreign land, in addition to the importance which naturally belongs to a domestic district. Its tourist in this instance has done justice to its claims. Mr. Malkin possesses the eye and the feelings of a correct and animated observer of nature, and describes in appropriate terms the scenery which passes in review before him. His style is elegant and correct. Much historical learning is manifested in the treatment of the antiquarian topics, which naturally occur in the course of his work, and various pleasing and accurate sketches of biography, and digressions of literary criticism are occasionally intermixed. The personal and trivial adventures of the tourist are never permitted to supersede the supply of solid and useful information. We have, in short, been indebted to Mr. Malkin, in the perusal of these volumes for much entertainment and instruction.

ART. V.—*The Minstrel; or the Progress of Genius, in Continuation of the Poem left unfinished by Dr. Beattie Book III. p. 81. 4to. Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme.*

THE pleasing poem from which the present work deduces its origin, is now placed by general approbation beyond the reach of being materially affected by future criticism. Dr. Beattie belonged to that order of writers styled by French critics, poets by reflection. This term has been used as a line of demarcation between them and the poets of antient and modern Italy, who, with few exceptions, are the poets of invention.

At the head of the former class might be placed Lucretius of the antients, and Pope of the moderns, and by the term itself it is intended to denote, those who have rather aimed at illustrating philosophy, and developing human reasonings and reflections, and the principles of human action, than describing new and strange events linked together, and conducing to forward one main plot or fable. Their business is with the mind. The succession of seasons, places, and events, which are the primary objects of the one class, become the secondary of the other; and are only called in as tending to illustrate the effects which they excite on human feelings, and lend their tributary aid to some moral, which is for ever kept in view.

The Essay on Man, the Pleasures of Imagination, of Memory, of Hope, and of Love, (the strongest emotions of which man is susceptible) have successively engaged the attention of English poets. These compositions are the produce of time devoted to collecting and arranging objects, for the purpose of analysing, or throwing light on their workings within us. That the design of Dr. Beattie was of this nature may be inferred, or rather proved from his own account, which we subjoin.

‘The design was, to trace the progress of a poetical genius, born in a rude age, from the first dawning of fancy and reason, till that period at which he may be supposed capable of appearing in the world as a minstrel, that is, as an itinerant poet and musician, a character which, according to our forefathers, was not only respectable, but sacred.’ Preface to the Minstrel.

From the number and excellence of English poets who belong to this class, we may gather that the genius of our countrymen is rather contemplative than inventive. Even

our first parents, encircled in the bloom and freshness of paradise are made to moralize before they were acquainted with immorality; and the most imperious heroes and heroines of Dryden's plays (which are all eminent for absurdity of plot) are rather talkers than agents.

If to waken man from inactive lethargy, to soothe him in despondence, to shame him in deeds of dishonour, to exalt him in poverty, and to humble him in the pride of affluence, be a theme worthy of the poet, (which few will deny)—if to kindle the finer and more noble, and to quench the baser feelings of human nature, be a great and glorious object, the celebrity of such works among us, is a proof that national depravity, in morals and in taste, has not so far advanced as many persons would have us imagine. It remains for us to prove how the successor to Dr. Beattie has succeeded, and to point out, as near as possible, those blemishes which may have obtruded themselves on the general design of the work, in its former and present stage of accomplishment.

It will be remembered, that the former work was left unfinished, and was, from its character, sufficiently inviting to a real poet, and sufficiently discouraging to a pretender in poetry, to bring to a conclusion what had been so happily begun. Even in the more favourable alternative, two difficulties remained, which should appear to baffle the architect who attempted to raise a superstructure on the foundations, and according with the original model, of the unfinished building. The one would consist in conformity of taste, and the other in the extreme intricacy of the stanza, fashioned (and we think corrupted) from the Italian by Spenser. The stanza of Tasso and Ariosto consists of eight lines, of which the six first close with alternate rhymes. The two last, for which the force of the stanza is more generally reserved, consists of a simple couplet, of which each line corresponds exactly with its fellow. This extreme copiousness of rhyme, which gives birth to the improvisatores and improvisatrices of Italy, and consequently to a profusion of extemporaneous common places in the shape of verse, is by no means a feature in our own language. Rhyme, (which we cannot but consider as essential to English verse) should yet be husbanded with caution. It is remarkable, that our old and delightful bard, instead of being appalled at encountering, should have increased the difficulty, by augmenting the correspondent rhymes from three to four. But it is yet more remarkable, that, struggling against the barbarism and want of harmony which di-

vides our language from that in which those masters wrote, he introduced the ruggedness (not to say the needlessness) of an alexandrine at the close of the stanza. In these two points the structure adopted by Fairfax immediately from the author whom he translated, is both more simple and more harmonious. The authors of the *Minstrel* however, have preferred the former stanza, and have doubtless succeeded in a manner nearly equivalent to an answer to all these objections.

The unfinished *Minstrel* concludes with a mournful apostrophe on the death of Dr. Gregory; and the continuation of that subject was incumbent on the successor to Dr. Beattie's labours and honours. Whether the continuator be really allied to the family of that excellent man, we are unable clearly to ascertain; our only lights to guide us on our way, when the author himself refuses to lend any by affixing his real name, are from internal evidence in the work itself, and the few vague hints picked up from enquiry—from both of which we should be inclined to favour that opinion. In either case, never did sorrow assume such semblance at least of reality, as that which bursts forth in the following lines :

'But why o'er dying Virtue do we weep?
Does the free spirit share our life's decay,
(Lost in the gloom of everlasting sleep)
Or wait the dawning of a better day?
Tho' fearful be the solitary way
From this perplex and feverish mortal clime,
Yet, cheer'd by Faith, and Hope's celestial ray,
Soon shall our wanderings cease in realms where Time
And 'Chance and Change' no more shall blast our death-
less prime.

'Tho' all day long the fast descending rain
Have bathed in tears the lovely landscape round,
While the sad woods were silent, and the plain
No more reechoed every rural sound,
The tempest knows its heaven-appointed bound,
Sunshine again may cheer the evening's close,
And Nature's form be with fresh beauty crown'd;
When the swoln stream that from the mountain flows,
Will, with its distant roar, but soothe us to repose.

'So I, erewhile whose unavailing woe
Deplored the best of friends 'for ever fled,'
Now bid my feeble sorrows cease to flow,
While, by strong Faith to happier regions led,

I hold imagined converse with the dead;
 And if my brow be sometimes overcast,
 Or if mine eye a tear unbidden shed,
 It flows from memory of affections past,
 Mixt with a sigh for those which shall for ever last.

In comparing our author with the writer whose work he has continued, and will, it is hoped, ultimately complete, it is necessary to state what appears to be the principal defects of either. And first of the first, Dr. Beattie, from an overflowing of tenderness and benevolence, is not unfrequently betrayed into a weakness bordering on feminine. It is indeed against this failing that we would caution all writers on subjects of sentiment. 2dly, The too frequent recurrence of scenery, with metaphors, allusions and illustrations drawn from thence, produces a sameness in the style and sentiment, which becomes offensive from its continuance. Indeed a writer, whose subject is not illustrated by figures drawn from numerous and copious sources, must ever fail in fixing the eye of the mind, and in leaving any distinct images imprinted on the memory. The well-known comparison of the human to the vegetable race by Moschus, with all the variations, for which it is capable of supplying hints, form the four fine stanzas of his Hermit. It is to be lamented, that a passage so eminently beautiful, and far transcending any of his other attempts, should be defiled by the neighbourhood of a dull and common-place afterthought. The same idea is worn to tatters in the first book of the Minstrel, but it is patched and worn again. It is the pivot on which the sonnets of Charlotte Smith, and of every sonneteer has ever turned: it is the pole-star to which Dr. Beattie was ever looking; and it is not to be wondered at that it should now be unfit for any further services.

3dly. A repetition, rather childish, of words, as—

‘Else shall he *never, never* cease to wail.’

‘*Long, long* groves eternal murmur made.’

‘*Down, down* the bottomless profound of night.’

4thly. The omission of the particle, which gives an air somewhat hudibrastic, as

‘Deep mourns the turtle *in sequester’d bower,*
 And shrill lark carols clear from *lonely tower.*’

‘The raven croaks forlorn *on naked spray.*’

‘The cottage curs at *early pilgrim bark.*’

5thly. A few vulgarisms, like, 'long-winded tale,' and an affected, though not less vulgar, deviation from the natural accent, as

'Soothed with the soft notes warbling in the wind.'

'To alarm the long night of the lonely grave.'

'Many a long-lingering year in lonely isle.'

6thly. An inelegant position of the genitive case with its sign before the case on which it depends, as

'That whirl of empire the stupendous wheel.'

'Or chaunt of heraldry the drowsy song.'

7th. Such expressions as '*romantic boy*,' '*mental light*' &c. which may be felt, but cannot be proved, to be prosaic; and '*young enthusiast*,' which may be felt to be puerile.

These, and a few others of their family, appear to us the principal blemishes in the style of Dr. Beattie. From all of these, but an inordinate profusion of scenery and its images, together with the adoption of the three last expressions, the present poem is exempt. But the first we consider as no trifling fault. It is common to all the squeamish and sickly novellists of the day. By them we are reminded, morning and evening, of the rising and setting of the sun, as if from an apprehension, that we should be forgetful, that on the presence or absence of that luminary, depend the light or darkness in which we walk. Then the birds are all set to singing, and it is well if we escape without having a shepherd called upon for a song, who seldom waits to be pressed for his performance. These, and the waving of dark pines, and rocks, and storms and calms, and green hills, and warm valleys, &c. &c. are doubtless sublime and horrible, or gentle and soothing, according to their usage, and are the very elements of poetry, which rejects any semblance of what is technical, or savouring of the mechanism of art. It is to the abuse of such materials that our animadversions are restricted; and in this point, our author must be added to the list of offenders. The subject, it is true, may be in fault: but if scenic description be attached to the subject itself, the poet should rather have avoided, than courted it, where it was not immediately demanded. The mind at peace with itself may with great beauty be depicted by colours borrowed from the repose of nature; and the turbulence and gloom of nature, may be called in to aid the delineation of anger or of anguish

raging in the human soul. But the physical and metaphorical storms should by no means be permitted to rage together, lest the one diminish the force of the other. The extract of this character already presented to our readers was sufficient for the whole book; and hence we were the less prepared for the unseasonable application of external objects to internal emotions in the following stanza.

But ah! too soon the waves of sorrow roll
In gloomy turbulence around, and pour
Their gather'd forces on his yielding soul.
His native vale (abode of joy before)
Reechoes to the song of health no more.
The pale destruction hover's o'er his sire;
And, while to heaven his soul prepares to soar,
His breast no longer glows with vital fire,
His boasted vigour fails, his *mental powers* expire.'

Having censured with some severity a prevailing fault common to both writers of the *Minstrel*, it remains to be proved, in what respect the continuator differs from the model of his original. And here we will venture our opinion, that in purity, in force and in harmony of language, in richness of thought and vivacity of colouring, in sentiment and expressions, the latter author far transcends his predecessor. His grandeur is free from noise and bombast, and his tenderness never degenerates into pitiful imbecility.

Beattie appears to have written with his Spenser for ever open, and to have measured every stanza with the structure of the poet, whom he imitated. Our author, on the contrary, seems to have been imperceptibly, though deeply, imbued with the stanza from much reading and long practice. To him it has become habitual, and flows with the vehemence of an extemporaneous effusion. The gentle simplicity of Beattie was well adapted to conduct his *Minstrel* through the age of childhood to puberty:—for the actions and passions of his manhood we look with confidence to the masculine and daring vigour of our author. The first years of the *Minstrel*, as of every child of promise and of fancy, are passed in acquiring ideas from the book of nature, and the lessons instilled by the hermit. But the age for acting on the principles thus instilled remains to be described. The eventful age of reason and of courage has fallen to the delineation of a poet, who will by no means permit his hero to wear it away in sloth and inactivity. Towards the middle of this book the author departs from the contemplative to

a more animated strain. The arrival of Wallace, the patriot and hero of Scotland, is the prelude to events, which we consider him pledged to continue. On the above reasonings we have ventured to found our decided preference for this book to the two preceding it, of the *Minstrel*; and that our readers may have an opportunity of accepting or rejecting this opinion, we submit to them the following copious extract, from which they will be enabled to form their own conclusions on the merit of the present work.

The *Minstrel* wanders in the stillness of the night to a promontory on the shore. He discovers a bark at a distance, from which the Scottish hero, with a companion of his fatigues and enterprizes, comes to land.

' 'Twas on a night most suited to his soul,
Silent and dark; save when the moon appear'd
Thro' shadowy clouds at intervals to roll,
And half the scene with partial lustre clear'd;
Save that the stillness of the air was cheer'd
By waters pouring from the heights above;
Save that by fits the ocean's voice was heard,
With sudden gusts of wind that stirr'd the grove,
And rose and fell again like tender sighs of love.'

' A feeble ray, still rescued from the dark,
The furthest eastern billows glimmer'd o'er,
Illumining a distant bounding bark,
That drove with swelling sails the wind before:
The *Minstrel* mark'd the course that vessel bore,
And watch'd, until the breeze had shaped its way
To where, beyond a northern point, the shore
Narrow'd into a safe and quiet bay,
Hard by the woody glen in which the hamlet lay.

' That distant point the *Minstrel* also gain'd
As night withdrew her veil of sable lawn;
Just when the sky with earliest light was stain'd,
And ocean's distant outline faintly drawn
By the uncertain pencil of the dawn.
And now the vessel safely moor'd he view'd,
And, at a distance from the shore withdrawn,
Two men of warlike port, and aspect rude,
Who lay apart reclined in sad and thoughtful mood.

' The warlike helmet shadow'd o'er each face,
Frowning with sable plumes in gloomy pride;
The spear, alike for battle and the chase,
Before them lay; and naked at their side

The broad claymore with leathern thongs was tied;
 Thro' the thick cloak that wrapp'd their limbs in shade,
 The burnish'd cuirass, which it seem'd to hide
 In its capacious folds, was half display'd,
 Mark'd with the deep indent of many a hostile blade.

' Fired with the sudden sight, so new and strange,
 A momentary flash of glad surprise
 Kindled in Edwin's cheeks a glowing change:
 Onward he press'd, and ever fix'd his eyes
 On one, the first in noble port and size,
 Of the mysterious strangers; and, as near
 His footsteps drew, he saw the warrior rise,
 As if the approaching sound had struck his ear—
 But Edwin's generous soul was ignorant of fear.

' Stern was the warrior's brow—his eye of fire
 Temper'd by Melancholy's chastening hand;
 His looks at once might awe and love inspire,
 Inexorably firm, sublimely grand,
 Yet mingling soft persuasion with command;
 Furrow'd his front with sorrows, toils, and cares,
 Like some lone exile's in an unknown land;
 His grisly beard and thinly scatter'd hairs
 Proclaim'd him somewhat sunk into the vale of years.

" 'Peasant,' he said, "if aught of human woes
 "E'er melt the natives of this lonely place,
 "Here let our tempest-beaten bark repose
 "From Fate's un pitying storms a little space!
 "Used are we to hard fare—the perilous chase
 "Hath yielded, day and night, our doubtful food;
 "Tho' from the South we come, our hardy race
 "Can boast the untainted channel of their blood,
 "Flowing from sire to son in no degenerate flood.

"Nor had we wander'd from our quiet home;
 "The much-loved hamlet where our father's lie;
 "But fell Ambition, ever wont to roam,
 "Left her own fruitful plains and sunny sky
 "To rob us of our cherished liberty.
 "Detested King! what mighty prize is thine,
 "That haughty England lifts her head so high?
 "A barren rock encircled by the brine,
 "Stain'd with the streaming blood of thousands of thy line.

"But while I speak, perchance my life is sold,
 "And Edward's spies hang eager o'er their prey;
 "Perchance my narrow sum of days is told,
 "And night already closes round my way.

" If thus, I am prepared, nor wish to stay
 " The heavy hand of death, however near,
 " Are then these deserts free, O stranger, say?
 " 'Twill gild with joy my parting hour to hear
 " That yet a Scot survives unawed by EDWARD's spear."

" Yet free," the youth replied, " from blood and crimes;
 From the rude tyranny of foreign powers,
 And ' all the misery of these iron times,'
 Our peaceful shepherds pass their harmless hours;
 Nor battle rages, nor the sword devours:
 Not e'en the distant sound of war's alarms
 Has ever reach'd these calm sequester'd bowers;
 But the old Minstrel's song of knights and arms
 Seems like some fairy-tale that by its wonders charms;

" The constant practice of the chase affords
 A feeble mimicry of war alone;
 And to our rudely taught but free-born hordes
 The name of Liberty is scarcely known,
 Altho' her real Substance is our own.
 Yet, strong and jealous to defend our right,
 If tyrant-force in our loved vale were shown,
 Soon should we, equal to the best in fight,
 Assert fair Freedom's cause, and prove our native might;

" But tho' from our rude mountain's rocky side
 The blast of distant war rolls off unheard,
 Yet are we not to savage beasts allied,
 Nor slow to pity woes we never fear'd:
 All human-kind is to our souls endear'd;
 The wretched to our special care belong:
 But, most of all, if their bold arms they rear'd
 In Virtue's cause against tyrannic wrong,
 Still unsubdued in soul, unconquerably strong."

" The warrior-chief on EDWIN while he spoke
 Fix'd his firm eye, and long deep-musing sate;
 Then, rising, thus the awful silence broke:
 ' Youth, I accept thy love, thy guidance wait;
 Enough for me, if EDWARD's lawless hate
 Hath left this little nook of Scotland free.
 Enough for thee, that I'm the sport of Fate,
 Driven from my home, a wanderer on the sea,
 And all for ardent love of sacred Liberty!"

From the above extract our readers will be enabled to form an exact estimate of the powers of our author, whom we have heard, in common with his brother minstrels, to be 'from the North countrie.' The book itself is printed in
 CRIT. REV. Vol. 13. March, 1808. T

conformity with the splendid quarto edition of Beattie by Ballantyne. It is with regret that we close it at that part where our interest in the fate of the brave Wallace, as connected with that of Edwin, is first excited. But our suspense, we trust, is to be of short continuance.

ART. VI.—*Considerations on the Causes, Objects, and Consequences of the present War, and on the Expediency or the Danger of Peace with France.* By Wm. Roscoe, Esq. Cadell and Davies. 1808.

'IF,' says Mr. Roscoe, 'the war is to be continued, it is now no longer matter of exaggeration to assert that the sovereign of these realms is to contend for his crown; the people for their liberties and rights; the soil in which their forefathers lie intombed.' This is certainly the true state of the present contest. Great Britain and France at this moment are in the world what those two ambitious individuals were in the Roman government; one of whom could not endure an equal nor the other a superior; and whose mutual jealousies could be appeased only by the extermination of one of the parties. By a long interchange of ill offices and an almost unintermitted reciprocity of rancorous hostility since the year 1793, a spirit of the most sanguinary animosity has been kindled between the ruling powers in both nations, such as was hardly ever known in the annals of ancient or modern war. The two governments of France and England are at present prosecuting the contest with all the deadly fury and all the unmitigable rage of a private quarrel. Former wars which this country has waged with France have been mere matter of pastime compared with this; but this is an awful conflict; and all that we possess or can enjoy is at stake on the event.

Mr. Roscoe proceeds to shew that all the motives which were assigned for the stubborn prosecution of the late war, have no reference to the present. Was the object of that war to *preserve the established order of things in Europe*? That order of things is, owing to our folly, thrown into stupendous ruin and can never be restored. Was it intended to *extinguish the rising flame of liberty in this country*? That can no longer be a pretext for hostility; for the desire of freedom seems to be changed into the opposite propensity to servitude. Was the former war designed to *restore the family of Bourbon*? That project has become too hopeless

even for the most enthusiastic presumption of the most inconsiderate folly to entertain. Did we continue the war because the government of France was not able to *maintain the accustomed relations of peace and amity*? This excuse was always known to be futile even by those by whom it was made; for a nation which is strong enough to carry on war can never be too weak to maintain the relations of peace. With respect to the *indisposition* to peace, which is a distinct thing from the inability to preserve the relations of peace, that *indisposition* cannot really be supposed to exist where a promptitude is shewn to put an end to the war; and where overtures of peace are constantly made. Did we carry on the knight-errantry of the late war in order to *obtain indemnity for the past and security for the future*? These were words of mighty sound but of no definite signification even in the mouth of Mr. Pitt; and no minister remains who can roll them from his lips in such sonorous periods, or with such potency of influence. When Mr. Addington treated with Bonaparte at Amiens, these objects of the *late war* were thought no impediments in the way of the conclusion. They can therefore certainly be no reasonable motive for the prosecution of the present war, and no sufficient obstacle to the termination.

The peace of Amiens, which Mr. Addington made, we will do him the justice to say that we believe him to have been at first sincerely anxious to preserve. But the violent clamour of the war-faction appears to have frightened him out of his sober resolution; and his conduct evidently displayed that of a man who was vibrating between opposite interests and opinions. The conduct of France who, in the interval of peace, had made new accessions to her dominion, ought certainly to have been made the subject of vigorous remonstrance; and from the conversation which passed between Lord Whitworth and Bonaparte, we believe that from the earnest desire of peace which he evinced, such remonstrance, if it had been seasonably employed, would not have been employed in vain. But we ought rigidly to have fulfilled the terms of the treaty ourselves, instead of affording our enemy the vantage-ground to accuse us of the violation. Whatever importance may be attached to Malta we ought to have given it up according to the letter of the treaty; and if it had been necessary to renew the war we might have renewed it with our character for good faith not only not sullied but too pure even to be suspected. But the measures of Mr. Addington, though we give him credit for meaning well, were not marked by the energetic vigour of a mighty

mind. And the plea which he at last assigned for the renewal of the war was notoriously untrue. It was, that considerable armaments were going on in the ports of France which threatened the safety of these realms. It has however since been ascertained as an undoubted fact, that France was not, at that time, making any hostile preparations in any of her ports. That the minister of a great nation should have gone down to the House of Commons with such a falsehood in his mouth appears almost too extravagant for belief; and we must therefore suppose, and do suppose, that Mr. Addington received his information from some emigrant spy or other person who had an interest in practising on his credulity. But a wise minister would not have hazarded such an assertion without better evidence, that it was true. The effect which it was intended to produce on the House and on the country, was that war was not a matter of choice, but of necessity; that it was indispensibly requisite in order to prevent the treacherous aggression of the enemy. There is one point, however, in which our candour obliges us to bestow high praise on Mr. Addington; and that is his refusal to comply with the wishes of Bonaparte in imposing any restrictions on the freedom of the English press. If Mr. Addington had made such a requisition on the part of the first consul the main ground of renewing the war, our heads and our hearts would warmly have approved the prosecution. Or if our present ministers could prove that the only obstacle in the way of peace is an unjustifiable demand on the part of the French emperor that any restrictions should be imposed on the freedom of rational discussion, other than what really exist in the established laws of this country, we would zealously exhort them to continue the war, and to endure every extremity rather than to suffer the mandate of an emperor of France, or of a pope of Rome, to wrest from us one particle of that glorious liberty which is our brightest ornament and our most virtuous boast. We do not know whether our opinions on this subject be quite in unison with those of Mr. Roscoe; but we believe and hope that they are; for we cannot suppose that the celebrated author of *Leo X.* is an advocate for any restrictions which would prevent the free expansion and the exursive liberty of the human mind. While the press is free, there will and there must be occasional licentiousness; but the present constitutional laws are sufficient to repress that licentiousness, whether it irritate the emperor of Morocco or the emperor of France. But we trust that there is a spirit in Englishmen which will rather die fighting in the last ditch than submit

to any diminution of that liberty which is their birthright, at the arbitrary mandate of a foreign power. It does not appear, however, that Bonaparte requires any restrictions on the liberty of the English press as one of the conditions of peace. No such stipulation was proposed in the terms of the treaty that was negotiated in the administration of Lord Grenville, or it would have been rejected with disdain. Such an attempt on the part of the French would be a strong and justifiable ground for continuing the war, and for scorning the proffer of peace.

But our ministers have no such honourable pretext for the continuance of hostilities, and we therefore must agree with Mr. Roscoe in condemning them for not making one strenuous, frank, and honest effort to restore the relations of amity with France; and to put an end to the havoc that has so long desolated Europe. If there be any basis at all on which they will make peace, as they pretend, let them ingenuously declare what that basis is; that not only every man in this country, but that all Europe may know whether the continuance of the war be owing to the unjustifiable ambition of England or of France.

We pass over the imperfect, and in our opinion rather languid statement which Mr. Roscoe has given of the different negotiations with, and coalitions against France. These are well known, and the more they are considered the more they will evince the folly of continuing the war and the possibility of making peace on equitable terms. To those who think a state of war preferable to a state of peace in the present circumstances of the world, we earnestly recommend the following considerations:

‘If a just, a safe, and lasting reconciliation be attainable, and that it is not so, has not as yet been decisively ascertained, it may most truly be observed, that there is no country under heaven which can derive such benefit from peace as Great Britain. Possessed of a marine superior to that of all the rest of the world; sovereign of the most extensive colonial territories that ever acknowledged obedience to a parent state; superior in capital, in ingenuity, in industry, and in mercantile probity, to every nation upon earth; what can she wish for, but for that fair and open competition in which she may be left to the free exertion of her resources and the full use of her energies. In a state of war she has her equals; in a state of peace she has none. It may be the policy of a country strong in arms, but inferior in commerce and manufactures, to promote her interests by force, and to compel the countries subject to, or dependant upon her, to rest satisfied with such articles as she can

furnish, to the exclusion of the superior manufactures of other countries; but of this Great Britain stands in no need. All that she has to ask, is a fair and open market, where the skill of her artificers and the spirit of her merchants may have their proper sphere of action. This the restoration of peace would ere long afford; and by this happy change, some compensation would be made to the country, for the disadvantages and losses which it has for so many years patiently sustained on account of the war.

“It must not however be supposed, that because all former reasons for carrying on the war have either been proved to have had no sufficient foundation, or have been effectually removed, the promoters of it are therefore destitute of pretexts to justify the headlong and violent measures which they incessantly recommend. As one cause of enmity is relinquished, another is discovered still more alarming, and the present grand objection to a peace is, that “*if it were once established, it would enable France to create a marine, by which she might overpower the British navy, and subjugate the country.*” The formidable nature of this objection, and the influence which such a sentiment at present possesses over the public mind, render it necessary to give it a brief, but serious and impartial consideration.

“France, it may in the first place be observed notwithstanding her increase of dominion and extent of coast, is not naturally disposed to become a great naval power. Neither her interests, nor the genius of her inhabitants incline her to it. To Great Britain, commerce is an object of the first importance. To France it is only secondary. Abounding with almost every article of necessity and of luxury, she can, in a great measure, dispense with foreign supplies; and her marine, except when she has been compelled to make a few temporary efforts, has scarcely at any time been more than a navy of defence. Even in her most prosperous times, and under the most ambitious of her sovereigns, the states of Holland have been her superiors; a circumstance only to be accounted for by the extent of their maritime commerce, and the naval genius of their inhabitants. Apprehensions, it is true, may be indulged till they approach to insanity; and they who have contemplated the astonishing achievements of Bonaparte by land, seem to suppose that when he turns his attention to naval affairs, he must instantly be successful. But in the present situation of France, the cases are wholly dissimilar. In contending with the nations of the continent; he has had the advantages of that acknowledged military spirit natural to the French nation; of numbers, in general, equal at least to those of his enemies, and of talents concentrated in himself and his chief officers, beyond all that modern times have known. By sea, all this is, at present, precisely the reverse. Neither the natural inclination of the people, the number or equipment of his ships of war, including those of all his allies and dependants, nor the experience and skill of his commanders, are in any degree to be compared with those of Great Britain. That superiority which we at pre-

sent enjoy, a state of peace would enable us not only to retain, but to improve. In our great colonial possessions and extensive maritime commerce, we possess advantages beyond any that France can boast of; and as these are the real foundation of maritime strength, the ratio of our increase in a state of peace, must, independent of our present superiority, exceed that of France, in a degree proportioned to the superiority of our resources. Our commanders and seamen too, distinguished by naval exploits of unexampled heroism, are already formed by long experience, and will be at all times ready to support the glory of the British name; whilst the naval commanders of France yet remain to be created, and can only be formed by a long series of hostile discipline. It is not in a state of peace that such acquirements are made; and therefore unless France be compelled, by causes which chiefly depend upon ourselves, to make extraordinary exertions to raise a navy, and habituate her officers and crews to naval discipline, there is little probability that, in this respect, she will ever even attempt to become formidable to Great Britain.

We know and we lament that in this *Christian country*, there has lately sprung up from the polluted seed of loans, contracts, jobs, and all the different species of political corruption, a host of men who are advocates for PERPETUAL WAR!!! When we consider the social nature of man we must be shocked at a principle which tends to brutalize the human species, to stifle all the best affections of the heart, and to convert man into a blood thirsty animal, whose only pursuit is henceforth to be rapine and slaughter. PERPETUAL WAR!!! Merciful God!! can we be so far forgetful of thy great commandment, NOT TO SHED BLOOD, and of thy infinitely wise precept to LOVE OUR FELLOW CREATURES AS OURSELVES, as for one moment to harbour a sentiment which inculcates an eternity of carnage and of strife? All the moral duties of life and the blessed precepts of the gospel are accommodated to a state of peace. Instead of war being favourable to the growth of any one virtue, as Mr. Cobbett has had the hardihood to assert, it engenders every species of crime; it violates every sympathy of our hearts, and outrages every law of the Christian code. But though all the hateful train of want, misery, and crime, wait on the car of war, yet these unprincipled men who delight in cruelty, injustice, and oppression, have the audacity in the counsels of a professedly Christian government to exclaim, *Let us never make peace but wage PERPETUAL WAR!!!* As those persons, who are too callous to feel any compunction for the injustice of this principle may perhaps be rendered sensible of the impolicy, we shall

extract the following, which we recommend to their serious perusal:

This unjustifiable and desperate attempt to maintain a perpetual war, will not only in all probability disappoint our hopes, but has a direct and inevitable tendency to occasion the very calamities which it is meant to avert. Such, indeed, are the usual consequences of that extravagant caution, which is, in fact, the utmost extreme of cowardice; and which to guard against contingent or imaginary dangers, thinks no sacrifices too great. In the commencement of the French revolution, France was not military. Her first defenders were a raw and undisciplined soldiery. The attack of her enemies called out her energies, and she has overthrown the proudest monarchs of Europe. Had she been suffered to establish, without interruption, her own form of government, such a result would not have taken place. It was therefore the attack upon France that converted that country into a nation of soldiers, and compelled her to have recourse for her defence to a government purely military. In like manner France is not now a naval power, and in a state of tranquillity would be still less likely to attempt it, than under similar circumstances she would have been likely to have aimed at a military character. But if she be compelled to assume it; if she find herself threatened with PERPETUAL WAR, harassed from year to year by protracted hostilities, and she should once be convinced that there could be no termination of them, until she could meet the fleets of Great Britain on the ocean with a superior force, it is impossible to say that the same spirit which has been manifested by land may not be excited by sea, and give rise to that very rivalry which we so greatly dread; an event the more to be apprehended, as she is now associated in the same cause with almost every maritime state in Europe. If the early attack upon France by the allied powers had any other motive than plunder, it was the result of a dastardly and overweening jealousy, which saw, in the supposed establishment of freedom in France, some remote consequences that might endanger the despotic establishments, and relieve the oppressed vassals of other continental governments.—To prevent these consequences France was attacked, and the result has been that almost all these governments have been overturned, and the sovereigns of most of them driven from their thrones. Is it possible that with such an example before our eyes we can blindly and obstinately pursue a similar track? That we can consent to become the instructors of France in naval affairs, as the nations of the continent have been in military tactics? That we can for a moment forget, that with such a population as that of France and her dependent states, defeat is no object provided she be making those acquirements and forming that character, at which, for her own safety, she is compelled to aim? And can it be possible, that after having contributed all in our power

to school her armies till they have conquered the continent, we should now begin to school her navies, till we have taught them to triumph over ourselves?

'Another assumption founded on the same irrational and disgraceful principle, is, that if we make peace with France we shall bind ourselves up from observing her conduct, or interfering with her on any future occasion; the consequence of which will be, that she will not only be enabled to provide a navy for our invasion, but may, during peace, have all preparations made for the attack, and may fall upon us unawares, whilst we are totally unprovided for our defence. That such an idea could enter into the head of any one who has not resigned his understanding to his fears, and does not labour under a partial derangement, is impossible. Supposing (if such a supposition can be borne) that peace between France and Great Britain were established, it is not the task of a day, a month, or a year, to create a navy. We could at all times observe the progress of the French in their dock-yards and arsenals, with almost as much certainty as the operations which are conducted in our own ports; and if it should appear that extraordinary efforts were making to increase the marine of France, beyond what her just defence and the protection of her commerce required, we should then be justified in enquiring as to the destination of such force; and if a satisfactory explanation were not given, should have an undoubted right to stop such preparations *in limine*: or if that should not be in our power, to recommence the war. Such, in fact, were the reasons assigned by the British Ministry for the renewal of hostilities in 1803. Nor were they denied by our enemies to have been a legitimate cause of war, if they had been founded on sufficient facts. It was however afterwards explicitly admitted in parliament, that no such armaments in the ports of France and Holland as had been alleged, had taken place; and thus it appears, that during the two years of peace, no measures whatever had been adopted on the part of France to prepare that navy with which they were to overwhelm the fleets of Great Britain and to subjugate the country. Yet we are continually stunned with the cry, that if peace be restored it will lay us at the mercy of France; and this sentiment, as absurd as it is disgraceful, is now the efficient and operative cause of a war, which even those who support it acknowledge to be hurrying us rapidly on to our financial ruin, and which if continued, must infallibly produce those very consequences which these alarmists can contemplate only from a state of peace.'

We have perused this pamphlet of Mr. Roscoe with considerable satisfaction; and we hope that it will encourage what is so much wanting among us, a spirit of peace and moderation.

ART. VII.—*Letters from England, by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella. Translated from the Spanish. In Three Vols. Longman and Co. 1807.*

A VOLUME of travels by a Spaniard, is indeed a literary wonder; and this work is peculiarly calculated to attract the attention of an Englishman, as containing a description of his life and manners by one, whose national customs and prejudices differ so widely from his own. The curiosity which such a production would naturally excite, and consequently the prospect of an extensive demand for it, held forth a strong temptation to the needy or ignoble book-maker. But though we are not surprised at the forgery, we are astonished at the manner in which it is executed; for it is evidently the work of a man of talent and genius, who by honourable efforts, might have gained not only subsistence, but fame. We are unwilling to believe report, which attributes it to one who has already distinguished himself in the higher walks of poetry;* he surely would not desert the pure fountains, the honoured paths of Parnassus; for the puddle and obscurity of Grub-street! Whoever the author is, we conceive it impossible that he can vindicate himself from the charge of fraud. He will say, he intended his book merely as a vehicle of satire; we give credit to his plea; valeat quantum valebit; but will he venture to assert that all his readers, (we will even say a large proportion of them) will purchase it as a satire and not as containing the real opinions and remarks of a Spaniard on our laws, customs, and habits? Every one who purchases the book as the work of a Spaniard, who saw what he related, is defrauded by the author, if it really is not so. If it be answered that it is equally instructive and entertaining whether written by a Spaniard or an Englishman; we give a strong denial to such an assertion, and add, that if it were so, the fraud still exists. If we buy a picture as an original of Claude, which the seller knows is not so; our being told that it is, or our thinking that it is equal to any landscape he ever painted, does not remove the cheat. This is even too favourable an illustration of the case; for though not painted by the artist we suppose, the picture may be a good one, and pos-

* Perhaps the residence of this gentleman in Spain may have occasioned the suspicion to fall upon him.

sibly to a common eye vary in no material respect from that after which it was copied ; but if the book in question be not genuine, it loses every shadow of the merit for which we bought it. There is no step between its being valuable and useless.

De l'Olme's valuable work on the British constitution, owed a great share of its celebrity to the circumstance of its author being a foreigner. He happily illustrates this advantage by comparing himself to a person standing on the outside of a house, who could take a more unembarrassed and impartial view of it than those within. We would not be misunderstood as intending to draw a comparison in any shape between these two authors. Supposing the 'Letters from England' to be really the work of a foreigner; a modest translator would have omitted the descriptions of an English family and furniture, the details of Gov. Wall's and Despard's trials, much of the description of our various sectaries, and a hundred tame recitals of things and events so familiar or so recent as to excite no interest or curiosity in an English reader. But these descriptions have the double use of swelling the book and giving an air of truth to the whole.

We think literature degraded by any species of injurious deception; (of course we are not supposed to include fictions of the discovery of manuscript romances, &c.) and the good sense, humanity, and just severity, of the author, only increase our regret that he has adopted a mode of giving his satire to the public, which subjects him to a suspicion of designedly entrapping purchasers and readers.

We have made these remarks on the supposition that the volumes before us are a forgery; when we have proof of the contrary, we shall be ready to give them a full and candid review.

ART. VIII.—*An Historical Inquiry respecting the Performance on the Harp in the Highlands of Scotland; from the earliest Times, until it was discontinued, about the Year 1734. To which is prefixed, an Account of a very ancient Caledonian Harp, and of the Harp of Queen Mary, &c. Drawn up by Desire of the Highland Society, &c. By John Gunn. 4to. pp. 112. Murray. 1807.*

THE enquiry, on the result of which the present dissertation is founded, was suggested by two very curious monuments of antiquity which were preserved in the family of

General Robertson and presented, by that gentleman, about two years since to the Highland Society of Scotland. The history of the oldest of these instruments is deduced from the year 1460, when it was brought in marriage by a lady of the house of Lamont into that of Robertson of Lude. That of the second is traced to Queen Mary with equal certainty. It was presented by that unfortunate princess, on an hunting excursion, to Miss Beatrix Gardyn (of the Gardyns of Banchory) who brought it also in marriage into the same family of Robertson.

Very accurate descriptions, together with plates, of each of these harps, are given us in the papers prefixed to the principal dissertation. It is, of course, impossible for us to do more than refer to the work itself for these particulars which well deserve the attentive examination both of antiquarians and of musical professors. We shall only observe that, as might be expected, both instruments are of the most simple construction; that the first, which is distinguished by the name of the Caledonian harp, is $38\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height and 16 in breadth, and contains holes for 30 strings, the shortest of which is but $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches in length, exceeding by more than an inch, the dimension of that string which has a corresponding pitch in the modern harp. Queen Mary's is much more highly ornamented than its companion, and its dimensions are only 31 inches by $11\frac{1}{2}$. It contains 23 string-holes; and the shortest string, like that of the Caledonian harp, is equal to the highest note of the modern piano-forte with additional keys. The bass, in both, appears to have been exceedingly defective, and indeed that of Queen Mary, was expressly found to be so on a trial, made before the society, by the author of these dissertations. Of this we shall be able to form some notion from the statement, that in the latter, 24 inches is the utmost measure of the longest string, and that the corresponding string on the Caledonian measures only $21\frac{1}{2}$; whereas 40 inches is the length assigned by "the experience of modern times as the best for sounding the lowest degree of the scale;" and "the lower compass of an ordinary bass voice extends 4 or 5 notes below the pitch given" to either of the above-mentioned strings.

It is also a singularity worthy of some remark that the Caledonian harp strikingly resembles, both in form and dimension, the famous harp of Brian Boromh preserved in the Museum of Trinity-College Dublin: from which it seems not unreasonable to imagine that its construction ought to be referred to an equally distant period; and Brian Boromh,

the owner of the Irish curiosity, is well known to have perished at the battle of Clontarf in 1014.

Notwithstanding the notoriety of the existence of the harp in question, the most intelligent Scots were inclined to attribute them to the invention of foreigners, and to ascribe the circumstance of possession by those individuals through whom they passed to the family of Lude, to some accidental intercourse with strangers; that of Queen Mary, for instance, might well be supposed to have had its origin in France, while its more venerable companion, probably, travelled over, at some forgotten period, from the opposite coast of Ireland, or from the Cambrian mountains. In the Highlands there is now no harper to be found, and with the practice of the instrument, the very memory of it appears to have perished also.

It may seem, indeed, an extraordinary fact to us 'south-ern folk,' that the most learned northern antiquarians should have been so long ignorant of (what Mr. Gunn proves to have existed till within the commencement of the last century,) the practice of performing on this instrument in the Highlands. Such, however, we are told, was the ignorance that prevailed on this interesting subject, that not only Mr. G. himself, though a Highlander by birth, 'did not entertain the least suspicion that the instrument *had ever been known* in his own country;' but that when, 'having undertaken the present enquiry, he applied to one of his friends who is well acquainted with the old and modern Highland music, and is an editor of ancient and modern Scottish poetry, in hopes of obtaining some information on the subject, that gentleman *laughed at*, what he conceived to be the *absurdity* of the attempt;' and again, that when the enquiry was completed and the result communicated to 'a nobleman the chieftain of one of their most celebrated clans, in whose family an established harper had been maintained;' his lordship, 'candidly confessed, that *he had never before known* that the harp had been cultivated by the native Highlanders.' (See note, p. 20.)

If this statement be accurate, as we must conclude it is, Mr. Gunn has certainly conferred a great obligation on general literature in collecting, and the Highland Society in publishing, the evidence communicated in the present essay; but we are informed that it is not on that ground only that our thanks are due to the author of the enquiry, and that this is only an introductory specimen of a much more extensive work which is hereafter to be produced, and of which a

prospectus is subjoined to the book at present under our inspection. It appears that the subject of present investigation will then be extended to

‘ An enquiry into the antiquity of the harp, and into the oriental extraction and ancient history of the Caledonian Scots ; demonstrating, from their language, ancient religion, superstitious rites, their kalendar and festivals, their remarkable traditions, manners, and customs, and from other documents and monuments still existing in Asia, France, Great Britain, and Ireland, that they brought the harp, together with other arts of civilized life, from Armenia, and the western coast of Asia, into the southern parts of England, prior to the æra at which our writers commence the history of Great Britain.’

This is, indeed, a wide and untrodden field of speculative enquiry, and we heartily wish the author success in so vast an undertaking.

To return to the subject immediately before us, our author's chain of evidence commences with some etymological proofs, of which the following struck us as curious and original. One of the many appellations bestowed on the harp in old Scots Poetry is ‘ teud-luin,’ signifying in *Gaelic*, ‘ the strings of melody ;’ and pronounced ‘ Telin.’ This also is its most frequent appellation in Wales ; yet the word has no meaning at all (at least no appropriate meaning) in the Welsh language ; a strong argument that it was derived by the latter from the former, and that if the Caledonian harp was not of superior antiquity to the Cambrian, the practice of its performance among both nations was at least contemporaneous.

The repeated mention of the harp in the most ancient Gaelic poems is the next proof here adduced of its general use in the Highlands ; but we must observe that the passages quoted are from Dr. Smith's collection, a work which the supporters of Ossian's authenticity give up as in many parts spurious ; nor have we any clue by which we can discriminate the spurious from the genuine.

The traditions of more modern date are, however, of less questionable authenticity.

‘ The very hills, the fields, the old castles of the Highlands still exhibit lively traces of this ancient and favourite instrument. The summit of a steep hill near Moy Castle, the seat of the Macleans of Lockbury in the Island of Mull is called *Madhm na Tiompan* or the harper's pass, and was so named from a remarkable inci-

dent that happened on that summit, which the natives relate to the following purpose.' p. 35.

We forbear transcribing this story as it is here copied *verbatim* from a periodical paper, 'which was some years since published at Edinburgh under the title of 'the Bee;' since the tradition, simple in itself, will not bear the injudicious amplification bestowed upon it, and is hardly worth preservation except as the origin of a well known Highland proverb, applied to the case of any ungrateful return for benefits conferred: 'Fool that I was, to burn my *harp* for thee!'^{*}—Our author proceeds,

'There was scarcely one considerable household of the Highland chieftains, which had not a bard, or a harper, on its establishment. A piece of ground was allotted for his subsistence, which devolved to one of his descendants, on condition of his being properly educated, so as to be qualified for the discharge of his office.' p. 45.

Of this institution we have unquestionable relics in the name of 'the Harper's Field,' in the parish of Urray, 'the Penny land of the Harper's Field,' on the estate of Torloisk in Mull. So the particular seats assigned to the harper in ancient castles are still designated by the appellations of 'the Harper's Window' at Duntullim in Skye, 'the Harper's Gallery' at Castletachlan in Argyleshire: and others. Dr. Johnson, in his tour through the Hebrides, mentions the 'Harp-key' preserved in the family of Lord Macdonald.

In the year of 1594, the Earls of Huntley, Angus, and Errol, having been convicted of high treason as popish recusants, an army of Campbells and Macleans was raised for the purpose of taking them in their fortresses in the Highlands, to which they had retired for safety. The command of the expedition was given to the Earl of Argyle, and on the 5th of October, 1594, that young nobleman received a signal overthrow at Strathaven by the Earl of Huntley's cavalry: among the followers whom he had taken with him in the army were *his family harper*, and a *witch*, who misled him by her equivocal assurances of success. One of her prophecies was,

^{*} The same tradition has been adopted by Mr. Macneil, as the foundation of his poem of 'the Harp.'

'That Argyle's harp should be played in Buchan, the residence of the Earl of Errol, and that his bagpipe should sound in Strathbogie, the seat of the Earl of Huntley. Nor were her vaticinations false: for both the harp and the bagpipe sounded in Strathbogie and Buchan, but the general was not present to hear this most agreeable music: neither could her sorcery foresee or prevent the death that awaited her after the victory.' p. 52.

The preceding arguments would have been sufficient for our conviction on a point which we did not believe to have stood in need of proof at all, the early and continued practice of performing the harp in the Highlands. This is not the place to enlarge on the further evidence respecting it, from Giraldus Cambrensis, Fordun, John Major, Buchanan, and the anonymous writer of 'Certain Matters touching the Realme of Scotland as they were in 1597.' Upon connecting the whole of this evidence with what has been before stated respecting the history of the two particular instruments which gave rise to the enquiry, Mr. G. draws the conclusion,

'That the harp was taught and performed upon, in different parts of the Highlands of Scotland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and that playing on, or singing to, the harp, was an accomplishment of the ladies of the Highlands at this period.' p. 74.

After this, we expected, that, for the greater honour of the instrument which bears Queen Mary's name, that celebrated princess would have been set down as an undoubted performer herself; but we found, to our surprise, that Mr. Gunn maintains the contrary opinion. It appears highly probable that the harp, in Scotland, was a common, if not an essential, appendage to royalty; and therefore the possession of a harp by any one of her sovereigns is no evidence that that sovereign was a harper. With regard to Queen Mary, the contrary may, Mr. G. thinks, be presumed from her foreign education, her well-known taste for the Italian school of music, the total inaptitude of the harp to variety of modulation and the temporary change of key,* besides which, the harp was at that period totally neglected in France, where the lute and virginals, of a construction entirely different, were the only instruments in fashion.

* It is true that the pedal harps and the modern Welsh harps are capable of these refinements on ancient simplicity; but they are instruments of very late improvement.

From uncertain principles, such as these, Mr. Gunn's deduction may, or may not be accurate: but what follows is surely mere conjecture; viz. that Mary, unable to perform herself, was so delighted with the performance of one of her ladies, Miss Beatrix Gardyn, that according to the tradition, she gave her her own harp as a reward for her skill in the accomplishment, when on a hunting party, and that this also was the very identical hunting party which is so picturesquely described by Barclay in the animated detail here quoted.

From about this period of history, the performance on the harp gradually declined in the Highlands, and the profession of a harper also fell into neglect. Yet some Highland families retained a character of this description in their service to a very late date.

Roderick Morison, commonly known by the name of *Blind Rory*, was both bard and harper to John Breck, laird of M'Leod, at Dunnegan castle in Skye, about 1650; and, when the succeeding laird deserted the residence of his fathers, lamented the circumstance in a very pathetic elegy which is still in preservation.

The Macleans of Coll maintained their harper to yet later period.

John Garve Maclean, in the time of Charles the First, was the author of several celebrated compositions, one of which called 'the Royal Lament,' is still preserved by tradition.

'An anecdote has been handed down in the family, of an English vessel having been wrecked on the island, the captain of which went to the castle of Coll, and on seeing this venerable gentleman, with a bible in his hand, and a harp placed by his side, exclaimed, in the enthusiastic language of that time, that he beheld *King David restored again to the earth!*' p. 100.

The last native harper of whom we have any knowledge, was retained in the same family. His name was Murdoch Macdonald, and he continued to exercise his profession until some time after the year 1734, when he retired to Quinish in Mull, where he died. We are told that he is still remembered in the family only by the name of *Murdoch the harper*; and that his son, a servant of the present Colonel Maclean, was always called *Evin Mhurchaidh Clairsair*, i. e. John, son of Murdoch the harper. It was probably from this Murdoch that Mrs. M'Kenzie (through Dr. Maclean her father) had those airs with which she amused Dr. Johnson, who said of her, 'she is the most accomplished lady I have found in the

Highlands; she knows French, music, and drawing; sews neatly, makes shell-work, and can milk cows.'

Having accompanied Mr. Gunn so closely through the whole of his ingenious and entertaining inquiry, we have now nothing further to add, but that the book is printed by Ballantyne, who has made it one of the most beautiful specimens of typography we have ever witnessed; and that the three plates with which it is ornamented, do no less credit to the skill of their engraver Somerville.

ART. IX.—*The Eloquence of the British Senate; or Select Specimens from the Speeches of the most distinguished parliamentary Speakers, from the Beginning of the Reign of Charles I. to the present Time. With Notes, Biographical, Critical, and Explanatory. In two Vols. 8vo. 1l. 1s. Ostell. 1807.*

SOME selection of the nature of that which is presented to the public in the volumes before us, has long been one of the most important desiderata of English literature. Whether we contemplate the valuable elucidations of history to be drawn from this source; the interesting displays it affords of such characters as are in no other manner accessible to ordinary men; or the still greater benefits to be derived from preserving the authentic records of public principle and constitutional freedom; we think no work could have been projected more susceptible of uniting all that is curious, interesting, and useful. The eloquence of the British senate has, in all ages, borne its natural affinity to the good sense and liberality of the British constitution: nor can the latter be perfectly understood or justly prized, without an intimate acquaintance with the former. This study should indeed become habitual to the great mass of our fellow subjects, but it ought, in a peculiar degree, to form a part of the education of those whose birth or connexions may intitle them to look forward either to a share in the government, or a seat in the legislature.

The present editor therefore, deserves our hearty thanks for his publication, in which he has brought together, within a reasonable compass, a far greater portion of the eloquence and wisdom of our illustrious orators, than we have ever before witnessed in a single collection. But we are not prepared to pay any compliments to the principles which have directed him in the choice of his materials. In our opinion, his sole object should have been to present us with the

greatest possible concentration of excellence ; and we should not have grudged three fourths of the book to Chatham, Burke, and Fox. The Beaufoys and Luttreills, the Digges's, Jenkins's, and Lenthalls, the Dukes of Manchester, Richmond, and Portland, might have been left undisturbed in their 'lasting tomb,' the Parliamentary Register. If indeed their speeches had been added, as a mere matter of curiosity, and the object had been to exhibit such *specimens* of English oratory as those with which Mr. Ellis has favoured us of our earlier poets, and Mr. Burnett of our prose authors, in that point of view, the number of speakers here exhibited is much too limited. We have not ransacked the debates to ascertain whether all the persons we are about to enumerate are reported to have delivered set speeches in parliament ; but surely it will appear strange that the names of Bacon, Hamden,* Holles, Falkland, Sydney, Sunderland, Godolphin, and Bolingbroke, should be entirely omitted. Lord Chancellor Clarendon is merely represented as the mouth-piece of his master, pronouncing by proxy a speech from the throne. Lord Somers is only once introduced, and his argument on the verbal dispute between the two houses of the convention-parliament on the use of the word 'abdicate,' is preposterously selected as the specimen of his talents.

Besides, if these examples were intended for the instruction or amusement of the antiquarian, they should have been carried up to a much earlier period. Ancient documents would have supplied many curious passages in the history of the two houses. The Bishop of Carlisle's noble defence of Richard the Second's right, after his deposition, should have formed a part of such a collection ; and the bold attempts of the Wentworths to establish in the House of Commons the power of enquiry and controul, if incapable of appearing in the form of regular speeches, certainly deserved an honourable notice. If the addresses from the throne are properly to be considered as falling within the title of parliamentary speeches, they ought also to have been taken from such remote reigns as to derive some curiosity either from their antiquity, or from the rough originality of character which in those times perpetually broke out.

* We mean the immortal patriot who died for his country in the battle of Chalgrove. An acute speech of his son's on the exclusion-bill is inserted ; which reminds us that the sensible and spirited harangue of Colonel Titus, on the same occasion is not in the work.

Some of Queen Elizabeth's communications breathe the true spirit that becomes an English sovereign with respect to foreign affairs, and all of those which were made by James the First, have some remarkable parts, which throw light both on his own character, and on that of his age.

If the selection of speakers has been injudicious, we think that of their speeches little less so. Who could possibly wish to know what Waller said for himself in defence of his connexion with Challoner and Tonkins? Yet that defence is inserted at length, while his admirable denunciation of Judge Crawley, when he carried up the articles of impeachment against him, is thought unworthy of a place. Lord Strafford's speech on his trial ought not to have been abridged; but we are glad that Hume's feeble though polished translation of it into modern English is not substituted for the manly and heroic original. The debates in the reign of Charles the First would have furnished many examples of the eloquence of Lord Digby, fully equal to that interesting speech here published in opposition to the bill of attainder; (vol. i. p. 99) and much superior to that in which he supported the test-act, when Earl of Bristol (vol. i. p. 173). From the latter however we are inclined to extract a very few words at the conclusion, for the information of those who consider the conscience of catholics completely at the disposal of the pope. It proves in the clearest manner that even in times when the papal power was still considerable in Europe, when the population of England was almost equally divided between the established religion and popery, and when the general influence of truth was much less powerful than at present, the catholic faith taught men allegiance to a protestant sovereign, and submission to the laws of their country.

'My lords, however the sentiments of a catholic of the church of Rome, (I still say not of the court of Rome,) may oblige me, upon scruple of conscience in some particulars of this bill, to give my negative to it when it comes to passing, yet, as a member of the protestant parliament, my advice prudentially cannot but go along with the main scope of it, the present circumstances of time and affairs considered, and the necessity of composing the disturbed minds of the people.'

The name of this nobleman leads us to observe that Mr. Hazlitt's* biographical sketches are very far from satisfactory.

* Though this name is not in the title-page of the work, we have seen it in the newspaper advertisements.

In the instance we are now considering, he appears to have no suspicion that this Earl of Bristol was the identical Lord Digby introduced before ; an ignorance, which might have escaped notice in many cases, but is really surprising when it relates to so extraordinary a character. The account here given of him is also extremely meagre, though he is repeatedly mentioned by Clarendon, as a man of the highest mental and personal endowments, gallant, brilliant, romantic, eloquent, subtle, capricious ; careless of means, and regardless of danger, where he had great ends in view, yet ever ready to change those ends on the suggestions of his own mind, though inflexible to every external temptation. Lord Orford's account of him, in the catalogue of royal and noble authors, is a string of epigrams, without facts ; but his biography, if it could be accurately traced, would perhaps be more entertaining, and certainly more full of secret history than that of any one of his contemporaries. Whether the information necessary for the execution of such a work can be easily procured, we know not : but we were unwilling to lose an opportunity of throwing out a suggestion, which, if adopted and well wrought upon, would add a most desirable acquisition to the library of general readers, and the means of highly important information to the students of history.

We return from this digression to our remark that the biographical part of the present work is poorly executed. There is a long criticism on the genius of Lord Chatham, but no account of his life, and that of Lord Hardwicke, does not state his promotion to the office of chief justice of England. Mistakes and omissions are frequent, and if Mr. Hazlitt is blessed with too lofty a mind to submit to such details, he should not have undertaken to supply them. Our censure applies to many cases, which do not fall under the following apology, of which we admit the justice to a certain extent. On first mentioning the name of Colonel Barre, the following note occurs :

‘ I am sorry that I can give no account of this celebrated character. Indeed, I have to apologize to the reader for the frequent defects and chasms in the biographical part of the work. I have looked carefully into the dictionaries, but unless a man happens to have been a non-conformist divine in the last century, a chymist, or the maker of a new spelling and pronouncing dictionary, his name is hardly sure of obtaining a place in these learned compilations. The writers seem, by a natural sympathy, more anxious to bring obscure merit into notice, than to gratify the idle curiosity of the public respecting characters on which a dazzling splendor has been shed,

by the accidental circumstances of situation, by superficial accomplishments, and shewy talents. In giving the history of illustrious statesmen or politicians, they are very uncertain helps : but if any one had to make out a list of antiquarians, school-masters, or conjurors, he would find them complete for his purpose. The Barres, the Grenvilles, and the Townshends, are forgotten : while the Dyches, the Fennings, the Lillys, and the Laxtons, vie with the heroes and sages of antiquity, in these motley lists of fame, which like death, level all ranks, and confound all distinctions.' Vol. ii. p. 74.

We trust that this well-founded complaint will ere long be effectually removed.

The first of these volumes is occupied with speeches delivered in Parliament from the period of Charles's accession to the commencement of the present reign. We copy sir Dudley Carleton's moving exhortation to the House of Commons.

' I beseech you, gentlemen, move not his majesty with trenching upon his prerogatives, lest you bring him out of love with parliaments. You have heard his majesty's often messages to you, to put you forward in a course that will be most convenient. In those messages he told you, that if there were not correspondency between him and you, he should be enforced to use new counsels. Now, I pray you consider, what these new counsels are, and may be. I fear to declare those that I conceive. In all christian kingdoms, you know that parliaments were in use anciently, by which their kingdoms were governed in a most flourishing manner, until the monarchs began to know their own strength ; and seeing the turbulent spirit of their parliaments, at length they, by little and little, began to stand upon their prerogatives, and at last overthrew the parliaments throughout Christendom, except here only with us.

' And indeed you would count it a great misery, if you knew the subjects in foreign countries as well as myself, to see them look not like our nation, with store of flesh on their backs, but like so many ghosts, and not men ; being nothing but skin and bones, with some thin cover to their nakedness, and wearing only wooden shoes on their feet ; so that they cannot eat meat, or wear good cloths, but they must pay and be taxed unto the king for it. This is a misery beyond expression, and that which yet we are free from. Let us be careful, then, to preserve the king's good opinion of parliaments, which bringeth this happiness to this nation, and makes us envied of all others, while there is this sweetness between his majesty and the commons, lest we lose the repute of a free-born nation, by turbulence in parliament ; for, in my opinion, the greatest and wisest part of a parliament, are those that use the greatest silence, so as it be not opinative, or sullen, as now we are, by the loss of these our members that are committed.' Vol. i. p. 41.

We were sorry to see our friend Sir Richard Steele cut so lamentable a figure, in defence of the unprincipled measure of extending the duration of the then parliament from three to seven years. The extract is said to be made 'less for the sake of the speech than the speaker,' but in our opinion, it would have been for the credit of both to suppress it. Some of Sir Thomas Hanmer's observations, which follow, on the reduction of the army, have never been excelled in manly constitutional feeling :

'And on the other hand, I beg it may not be taken for granted, that if we dismiss our soldiers we shall therefore leave ourselves naked and void of all protection against any sudden danger that may arise; no, sir, providence has given us the best protection, if we do not foolishly throw away the benefit of it. Our situation is our natural protection; our fleet is our protection; and if we could ever be so happy as to see it rightly pursued, a good agreement betwixt the king and people, uniting and acting together in one national interest, would be such a protection as none of our enemies would ever hope to break through. It is a melancholy thing to me to hear any other notions of government advanced here, and that his majesty, either from his private or his general council, should ever upon this subject have any thing inculcated in him but this great truth : That the true and only support of an English prince does, and ought to consist, in the affections of his people. It is that should strengthen his hands, it is that should give him credit and authority in the eyes of other nations; and to think of doing it by keeping a number of land forces here at home, such a number as can have any awe or influence over the great powers on the continent, is, I think, one of the wildest imaginations that ever entered into the heart of man. The only strength of this nation must always consist in the riches of it; riches must be the fruits of public liberty, and the people can neither acquire riches, nor the king have the use of them, but by a government founded in their inclinations and affections.' Vol. ii. p. 270.

Most of the debates in this and the following reigns, are too much connected together, to allow of large extracts being made from particular speeches; but we cannot help expressing our regret, that the discussion of the great case of *Ashby v. White* in the House of Commons, is not inserted, as it unfolds with the greatest clearness the whole important doctrine of representation, and may justly be regarded as the most complete depository of the Whig principles of the constitution.

The second volume is entirely devoted to the orators of the present reign, and it is here that the editor begins to

expatiate in the fields of critical observation. Among the luminaries of our age, who are honored by a particular discussion of their merits, the greatest attention is deservedly paid to Burke and Fox. Lord Chatham, indeed, is allowed to have possessed more dignity, more command over the passions of men, a more powerful influence to effect a temporary purpose, that is, in other words, to have been a greater orator than either, but Fox is considered as a juster reasoner and a more enlightened statesman; Burke, as a more profound and subtle thinker, endowed with more fancy and originality, at once a poet and a philosopher. Having before intimated our opinion that the reputation of our senate for eloquence principally rests on these three men, we are glad of an occasion to compare their powers, and estimate their claims to admiration; particularly as Mr. Hazlitt has executed a similar task with very considerable ability, but, as we think, with great and manifest injustice. He is bold, shrewd, decisive, and often judicious, but his lines of distinction are too strongly drawn, while the long array of his rhetorical and highly wrought antitheses not only tramples under foot all the finer classes and distinctions of character, but often betrays him into conclusions inconsistent with the very principles on which he professes to judge.

We shall transcribe as much of the several characters which he draws of these distinguished orators, as will be necessary to make both his opinions intelligible, and our own reasons for dissenting from them in a certain degree. Lord Chatham is thus brought upon the stage:

‘I had not yet come to any thing that would justify the high encomiums, generally and deservedly passed on lord Chatham. But his genius, like Burke’s, burnt brightest at the last. The spark of liberty, which had lain concealed and dormant, buried under the dirt and rubbish of state intrigue and vulgar faction, now met with congenial matter, and kindled up “a flame of sacred vehemence” in his breast. It burst forth with a fury and splendour that might have awed the world, and made kings tremble. He spoke as a man should speak, because he felt as a man should feel, in such circumstances. He came forward as the advocate of liberty, as the defender of the rights of his fellow-citizens, as the enemy of tyranny, as the friend of his country, and of mankind. He did not stand up to make a vain display of his talents, but to discharge a duty, to maintain that cause which lay nearest to his heart, to preserve the ark of the British constitution from every sacrilegious touch, as the high priest of his calling, with a pious zeal. The feelings and the rights of Englishmen were enshrined in his heart; and with their united force braced every nerve, possessed every faculty, and communica-

ted warmth and vital energy to every part of his being. The whole man moved under this impulse. He felt the cause of liberty as his own. *He resented every injury done to her as an injury to himself, and every attempt to defend it as an insult upon his understanding.* Vol. ii. p. 4.

These observations we think perfectly just. Lord Chatham was unquestionably attached to the cause of liberty, from conviction; but he employed its principles, as the instruments of his own elevation, and exacted an assent to his doctrines, as a homage due to the supremacy of his mind. When the love of power is said, in another place, to have been his ruling passion, it must be carefully distinguished from the miserable itch for office and emolument to which he appears to have been singularly indifferent. The power he coveted was an influence over the minds of men, founded on the sense of his greatness, and united with a ready deference to the superiority he claimed. These feelings of noble pride were at the bottom of his heart; they form the marking feature of his speeches and his conduct, and burst forth perpetually in his expressions, with whatever subject they may happen to be conversant.

The following observations on Burke, we believe to be as new as they are just:

‘Burke’s writings are better than his speeches, and indeed his speeches are writings. But he seemed to feel himself more at ease, to have a fuller possession of his faculties in addressing the public than in addressing the house of commons. Burke was *raised* into public life: and he seems to have been prouder of this new dignity than became so great a man. For this reason, most of his speeches have a sort of parliamentary preamble to them: there is an air of affected modesty, and ostentatious trifling in them: he seems fond of coquetting with the house of commons, and is perpetually calling the speaker out to dance a minuet with him before he begins. There is also something like an attempt to stimulate the superficial dulness of his hearers by exciting their surprise, by running into extravagance: and he sometimes demeans himself by condescending to what may be considered as bordering too much upon buffoonery, for the amusement of the company.’ Vol. ii. p. 207.

Though Mr. Burke’s writings appear to be exempted from this censure, it is equally applicable to them. There is in them, as well as the speeches, an irritable jealousy of his own consequence, a suspicion that he may not be treated with due consideration, and a most respectful mention of his own name, often in the third person, as an example for the behaviour of others. All his productions betray a constant

desire to exhibit his faculties to the best advantage, to astonish his hearers with the brilliant fireworks of his imagination, and the inexhaustible stores of his memory. To say that his style is not gaudy and flowery, and that he does not lie in wait for opportunities of declamation, really looks like the mere affectation of paradox. The puerile and tedious pun about the dovetailed cabinet, sufficiently contradicts the opinion; and the picture of Carnot, with "his body fantastically habited," and the tri-coloured plume on his head, detaining our ambassador in the antichamber "till he had snorted off the fumes of the undigested blood of his sovereign," is a part of that composition which is celebrated for the severity of its style.

'The moment a man shows you either by affected words or looks or gestures, that he is thinking of himself, and you, that he is trying either to please or terrify you into compliance, there is an end at once to that kind of eloquence which owes its effect to the force of truth, and to your confidence in the sincerity of the speaker. It was however to the confidence inspired by the earnestness and simplicity of his manner that Fox was indebted for more than half the effect of his speeches. Some others (as Lord Lansdown for instance) might possess nearly as much information, as exact a knowledge of the situation and interests of the country; but they wanted that zeal, that animation, that enthusiasm, that deep sense of the importance of the subject, which removes all doubt or suspicion from the minds of the hearers, and communicates its own warmth to every breast. We may convince by argument alone; but it is by the interest we discover in the success of our reasonings, that we persuade others to feel and act with us.' Vol. ii. p. 469.

'It was this union of the zeal of the patriot with the enlightened knowledge of the statesman, that gave to the eloquence of Fox its more than mortal energy; that warmed, expanded, penetrated every bosom. He relied on the force of truth and nature alone: the refinements of philosophy, the pomp and pageantry of the imagination were forgotten, or seemed light and frivolous; the fate of nations, the welfare of millions, hung suspended as he spoke; a torrent of manly eloquence poured from his heart, bore down every thing in its course, and surprised into a momentary sense of human feeling the breathing corpses, the wire-moved puppets, the stuffed figures the flexible machinery, the "deaf and dumb things" of a court.' p. 470.

Notwithstanding the just views which Mr. H. has taken in these passages, he has been betrayed, we think, into great error, by the love of appearing as the arbiter of fame, and "disposing of honor and of scorn" among the first characters of our age and country. He never knows where to stop,

and the endless multiplication of his words in attempting to refine his ideas to an excess of subtlety, destroys the value of his best observations. The example before us is a striking one. The three quotations above made, contain the whole secret of the qualities that distinguish those powerful minds. Chatham made all things subservient to his own conscious dignity: Burke was intent on his self-importance, and anxious to make a display of his powers: Fox was free from every kind of selfishness. He was wrapt up in the subject, and anxious for its success, because he believed that success to be essential to the happiness of his country. This sacrifice of himself to his great and benevolent purposes, as it gave him an irresistible power over the sympathies of men, is alone sufficient to constitute him the greatest of orators. Yet with his acute and overpowering feelings, he is designated (p. 7, vol. ii.) as a mere reasoner, and the dressy rhetoric of Burke is preferred to his genuine excellence.

If the power of an orator is to be estimated by its effects on the minds of his hearers, it is obviously necessary to enquire a little into the judgment, with which they may be endued. It is evident that Burke was not the orator of our House of Commons, because his speeches were scarcely ever permitted to die a natural death, in other words he was coughed down. And it is in vain for his worshippers to talk of 'the motley crew of knights, citizens, and burgesses,' incapable of feeling his transcendent excellence: the English parliament is the most enlightened popular body the world ever saw, and the most capable of estimating intellectual merit. When Fox was heading his minorities of thirty and forty, when every sentiment he uttered gave a violent shock to the prejudices of all around him, he was heard with patience and temper.—But if it could be supposed that these three men had been accidentally placed in the midst of an assembly to whom they were utter strangers, the effect would have been the same. Chatham would have commanded more immediate respect and deference; Burke would have been listened to with delight, till they were satiated with fine language and far-fetched illustrations; but Fox would have attracted all their attachment and confidence, as their friend and champion, as the man who would labor to supply their wants, redress their grievances, awaken their best feelings, and encourage all the virtuous propensities of their nature.

'Fox was in the common class of men, but he was the first of that class.' This is the very test and triumph of consummate genius. On the principle of *sibi quisvis speret*

idem, we doubt not that many have thought there was nothing extraordinary in his speeches, nothing but what might have occurred to themselves on the same occasion. Mr. Hazlitt, indeed, has probably never closed any one of them without being firmly persuaded that he could himself have said the same things in a very superior manner. He could have added ornaments and figures of speech to a vast extent, and could have repeated one idea in twenty sets of phrases, when this matter of fact man, this 'historical thinker,' had been poorly satisfied with expressing it but once. 'Charles Fox dogged the heels of his allies, (all the way calling out to them to stop) with his sutler's bag, his muster-roll, and army estimates at his back. He said, you have only 50,000 troops, the enemy have 100,000, &c. &c.' 'This is an excellent sense and sound reasoning, but I do not see what it has to do with philosophy.' As if the principles of science ceased to be principles, when applied to the very emergencies for which they were intended. But it is not true that his prophetic warnings were confined to such calculations. They were founded on the nature of man, and derive additional value in the eyes of common sense and philosophy, from being confirmed by the deductions of experience. Opinion, he said, is not to be combated by the sword; disaffection must be increased, by the means you adopt for suppressing it, and the burthens of war will prepare the country for the principles of Jacobinism. Your unprincipled confederacy against France, contains the elements of dissolution in itself; and the slumbering giant once completely roused, will overwhelm one power of the continent after another, by the very succession of steps, of which I now entreat you to beware. These were his remonstrances, and when the fatal truth evinced his wisdom and benevolence, he might have boasted in the words of Demosthenes,—*παντες υμεις ιδυνετε την τε των ταυτα πεισαντων κηριον, και τον τα βελτιστα διανοτα υμε.*

An enquiry is instituted whether Burke was a poet, and this character is gravely refused him for this reason,—that politics, as such, are not poetry. Then something is said about his superiority to Fox in the powers of imagination, which is certainly too manifest to be denied. But we shall not be deterred by the dread of imputed partiality, from remarking that, if Fox had been endowed with a much greater portion of fancy, his works would have contained no brilliant conceits, no laboured displays of imagery, no

patches of purple and embroidery. His mind was employed on higher and more noble objects, his feelings were too strongly at work, to admit of such exhibitions. The violence of Burke proceeded from a heated imagination; the earnestness of Fox flowed from a warm and deeply interested heart. But when we are told, *ex cathedra*, that 'there is hardly an instance of imagination to be met with in any of his speeches,' we think ourselves peculiarly entitled to complain of this selection. Mr. Fox's arguments here given, are mere arguments drawn from matters of fact, on subjects of continental policy, whereas the true touchstone of his powers would have been found in the contests on grand constitutional questions, with which the present reign has abounded. It is only during the struggles of parties nearly equal in force, and when opposite interests are almost balanced, that the House of Commons is, in truth, a popular assembly, capable of being affected by eloquence, or of producing its more powerful efforts. It will be found accordingly that our great orator was never so animated or so successful, as in 1784 and 1789,—the former period being that, in which he headed the resistance of the House of Commons to the unconstitutional appointment of the minister, and the revival of secret influence; the latter, distinguished by the various questions arising from a vacant throne. No one of these speeches has been published by Mr. Hazlitt, and his omission of the glorious plea for parliamentary reform in 1797, is still less to be excused. In a word, his cold and niggard praise of the eloquence of our immortal statesman would have more appearance of justice, if he had never given any other proofs of his genius, than what are here selected for publication.

The florid stile of this editor's critical observations, and the frequent scraps of poetry with which they are embellished, convince us of his youth; but really a young man should be more cautious in employing the language of judgment and condemnation. In saying that lord Camden was 'a man of no abilities whatever,' and in charging Mr. Pitt with 'a degree of weakness and imbecility, a defect of understanding bordering on idiotism,' a man throws a much stronger imputation on his own good sense, than on the talents of the party so attacked. There is a note too at p. 467, of which we should be loath to speak as it deserves, because we do not approve of the unceremonious stile adopted by Mr. Hazlitt. If that note had been written by another

person, and Mr. H. had been called upon to review it, we are certain that he would not have hesitated to characterize it as vulgar, stupid, and absurd.

We are unwilling to withhold due praise from Mr. Burke, but we admire him more as a glowing orator, and a man of delicate taste, than as a profound thinker, or a disinterested patriot, and we can no more place him on a level with his friend and rival for the justness of his views, than for the kindness of his temper, or the benevolence of his heart. The difficulties, under which the people of England labour, have resulted from their neglect of the practical wisdom of Mr. Fox; and they can only be remedied by a recurrence to those principles of moderation and liberality, which his eloquence so long laboured in vain to inculcate.

ART. X.—*An Inquiry into the Causes and Consequences of the Orders in Council; and an Examination of the Conduct of Great Britain towards the Neutral Commerce of America.* By Alexander Baring, Esq. M. P. 8vo. Ridgway. 1808.

A PROFOUND knowledge of the subject, combined with views the most enlightened and morality the most pure, characterise the present publication. If what Mr. Baring has here advanced respecting the late orders in council, do not carry the conviction of error home to the minds and hearts of the present ministers, they must be surcharged with a degree of obstinacy and of ignorance greater than we have hitherto been willing to believe that they possessed.

When the present ministers came into power they seem to have been resolved to do something to make themselves talked of; and to impress the country with an opinion of their energy. They determined to deviate as much as possible from the conduct of their predecessors, whose object was not noisy fame but public good; but they resolved to purchase notoriety whatever might be the cost. And as the precincts of Britain were thought too contracted a field to be occupied by their disgrace, they proceeded to the highest pitch of daring, and determined that the publicity of their infamy should be sounded by every tongue in every language in Europe. For this purpose, as they found it impossible to do any thing more than shew their teeth to the power with whom we were at war, they thought it prudent to attack a power with whom we were at peace; and as the robber deems

it most safe to break into a house when the family are from home, they made up their minds to fall pell-mell upon Copenhagen, when the Danes had no suspicion of the assault, and had no soldiers ready to repel it. This was their first exploit; and it certainly had the desired effect of getting them a name; and rendering them as famous as their hearts could wish. Their next step towards obtaining distinction and astonishing Europe with a spectacle of energy was the famous orders in council, on which Mr. Baring has so ably commented in the present performance. These orders were well adapted to evince the daring and vigour of the present ministers, and to make them talked of by sea as well as by land; for these new orders, as Mr Baring well observes, 'were of a description to produce a revolution in the whole commerce of the world, and a total derangement of those mutual rights and relations, by which civilized nations have hitherto been connected.' This was certainly doing something, which, whether it be called wisdom or folly, vigour or weakness, is not likely to be soon forgotten. The man who set fire to the rich temple of Diana at Ephesus, that his name might be handed about by posterity, was but a poor poltroon in mischief compared with our present fame-seeking ministers, who first robbed Denmark of her marine, and then issued an edict of excommunication against the commerce of the world.

Who will venture to dispute the brilliancy of these achievements? or who will gainsay the title of the present ministers to the possession of as much notoriety as ever characterised the most consummate proficient in political contrivance in any age? As the primary object of the present ministers on coming into power was to do something to be talked of, we confess that the means which they have pursued have been admirably adapted to such an end; but what remains for us to consider is, whether the real interest of their country have not been sacrificed to the gratification of their vanity. Though the famous orders in council of the 11th of November, 1807, are, like the doctrinal arcana of the methodists, entangled in such a web of perplexity that it is difficult to affix to them any definite signification, and though, like the thirty-nine articles of faith, they seem purposely designed to encourage a diversity of opinions; yet the following appears to be the sum and substance of their meaning, as far as the authors of the measure can be supposed to have had any meaning beyond that of making themselves extolled as men of vigour and renown.

' All trade directly from America to every port and country of Europe at war with Great Britain, or from which the British flag is excluded, is totally prohibited. In this general prohibition, every part of Europe, with the exception at present of Sweden, is included, and no distinction whatever is made between the domestic produce of America, and that of the colonies re-exported from thence:

' The trade from America to the colonies of all nations remains unaltered by the present orders.—America may export the produce of her own country, but that of no other, directly to Sweden.

' With the above exception, all articles, whether of domestic or colonial produce, exported by America to Europe, must be landed in this country, from whence it is intended to permit their re-exportation under such regulations as may hereafter be determined.

' By these regulations it is understood, that duties are to be imposed on all articles so re-exported; but it is intimated that an exception will be made in favour of such as are the produce of the United States, that of cotton excepted.

' Any vessel, the cargo whereof shall be accompanied with certificates of French consuls abroad of its origin, shall, together with the cargo, be liable to seizure and condemnation.'

This plan, which it certainly cost our sagacious ministers great pain and travail to bring forth,

' wants,' says the reflecting and discriminating Mr. Baring, ' in order to be completely successful, only the concurrence of one man, but that man is the Emperor of France, whose dissent has been totally lost sight of. The Americans are to bring to this country all the produce of their own, and all that of our enemies' colonies which they export to Europe: We are here to form a grand emporium of the costly produce of Asia and America, which is to be dispensed to the different countries of Europe under such regulations as we may think proper, and according, I suppose, to their good behaviour. Taxes are to be raised from the consumers on the continent, and they are to be contrived with that judicious skill, which is to secure to our own West India planters a preference over those of Cuba and Martinique; a distinction which their zeal in promoting this grand discovery certainly deserved.

' What light has all at once broken in upon us, and what ignorant statesmen we have been governed by for the last fifteen years! The secret is at last discovered of making France herself tributary to the fortunes of individuals, and to the revenues of the state: After complaining so long that she would not employ us as her factors and manufacturers, we are now, by contrasting the rich emporium of luxuries on one side of the channel with the want and poverty of the other, to offer an exhibition too tempting to be resisted: we are to be supplicated in terms of distress to permit the people of the Conti-

ment to buy of us the rich produce of the East and West; and, as nothing short of extreme distress can produce such a miracle, have we not also at last found the means of forcing Buonaparte to a peace? It is difficult to conceive in what brain, indued with the smallest portion of common sense, so visionary a dream could have been engendered. Is there a man so perfectly out of his senses, so totally ignorant of the state of Europe, as to suppose its execution possible?

Men are very often apt to *reckon without their host*; this seems to have been the case with our wise ministers in the present instance; and, of course, they have been guilty of a few oversights in their political calculations on the profit and loss of this measure; which *their good friend* Buonaparte will no doubt turn to his advantage and to their mortification. If they could have either frightened or have fooled Buonaparte into a willingness to send for his coffee, his sugar and merchandize, to this country, in order to increase the amount of our customs, these famous orders of council might have vied with any of the inventions of Archimedes in subtlety of contrivance and in potency of effect. But unluckily for our ministers, Buonaparte is neither recreant nor dolt; and he is not very likely to comply with our demands though our cabinet threaten him with a shower of Mr. Congreve's rockets, or pass an edict against his having a dose of bark or a pinch of snuff.

We may if we please make this country the emporium for all the produce of America and the West India islands: but of what use will be such an emporium while these regulations of our tyranny, selfishness, and folly, will keep almost every foreign customer out of the market?

'If,' says Mr. Baring, 'the people of that country, America, should be deluded with the expectation, that we can really distribute on the Continent their immense mass of European and colonial exports, and should send it to us for that purpose, it must infallibly rot in the warehouses of the great emporium. If all the industry of our smugglers can get rid of one tenth part of it they will be fortunate, as all the articles, and particularly those of our produce, are very bulky. Taking as an instance the principal article produced in the middle states, we should receive about 80,000 hogsheads of tobacco, of which our own consumption would take 12,000—what is to become of the remainder?—Nor would America lose only her export to foreign Europe, for such would be the glut of every thing in the emporium, and such the consequent depression of prices, that even the consumption of this country would in part be lost to her by the inadequate return, which would hardly defray the charges of bringing it to market.'

' The consequences of such a state of things must produce ruin to every class and description of persons in America, and they are indeed so obvious and so inevitable, that one cannot avoid thinking, that they must have occurred to the framers of this new system, and that the great advantages they expect to derive from other parts of it had reconciled them to the loss of those resources, which the extent and variety of our commerce with America afford.

Mr. Baring proceeds to take a retrospective view of our conduct towards America, and he proves, in opposition to the general prejudice, and to the systematic misrepresentation, which has been so artfully employed to conceal the truth, that the pretensions of America have not been encouraged by the concessions of Britain; that Britain instead of conceding so much, as she ought, has set up old claims in opposition to the spirit of treaties, and to the practice of many years. In 1756, Great Britain chose to determine that a neutral had no right to carry on in time of war a trade prohibited in time of peace. But this rule, which our present ministers have since been so unwise as to enforce with aggravated severity, has not only never since been acted upon; but is virtually renounced in the treaty with Russia of 1801. This rule was not enforced in the war which ended in 1783. In 1798, neutrals were expressly permitted ' to carry the produce of enemies' colonies not only to their respective countries, but to Great Britain, which remained in force until the peace of Amiens.' In the correspondence which took place between Mr. Rufus King and lord Hawkesbury in 1801, the same principle in favour of neutrals is explicitly acknowledged. The report of the advocate general, which forms part of that correspondence says,

' It is now distinctly understood, and has been repeatedly so determined, that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be re-exported from thence even to the mother-country of such colony; and in like manner the produce and manufactures of the mother-country, may in this circuitous mode, legally find their way to the colonies.'

We here see, as Mr. Baring has very justly remarked, that

' This memorable rule of 1756, the foundation of these maritime rights, without which we are told our power cannot exist, though it was exercised only for a very short period, was, during the last war, first, voluntarily abandoned; secondly, compensation

was afterwards made for the consequences of its temporary execution, by an act which stigmatizes the execution as illegal; thirdly, a formal treaty with a friendly power, established principles directly opposed to it, and finally that those principles were expressly applied to America.'

The late orders in council must be regarded as an unprincipled infraction of principles consecrated by usage, by treaties, and, in fact, by the law of nations, as far as that law is considered as constituted not only by the practice of nations, but by those obligations of justice and humanity, of which all christian governments, whatever may be their practice, do always, in theory, acknowledge the sanctity and importance. They are indeed an attack on the independent sovereignty of every country in the world.

Since the year 1805, 'we have,' in the words of Mr. Baring been harassing the commerce of America 'by the most absurd and frivolous prettexts.' Our privateers and cruisers, apprehending little danger of being made answerable for their error, have been in the habit of detaining and sending in

'Every vessel they met with under the most frivolous pretences, in which they were also encouraged by the expectation of actual war. Of the extent to which this was carried, some idea may be formed, when it is stated, that cargoes, wholly of American produce, and of the produce of neutral countries trading with America, were captured, and even brought to trial. In these instances, the judge decreed restitution of ship and cargo, and costs against the captors, with expressions of indignation, which so lawless an outrage necessarily excited; the latter had, in the face of this censure, the audacity to enter appeals, and the American was obliged either to compromise or leave to the captors the option of bringing forward his appeal within a twelve month, with the possible advantage of an intervening war securing to him his prize. The owners of privateers are in the daily practice of bringing in valuable cargoes, and offering immediately to release them for one or two hundred guineas, they sometimes require a much larger sum; and the London merchant is either obliged to acquiesce in this iniquitous robbery, or let his correspondent suffer the more expensive vexations, which it is unfortunately in the power of these people to inflict.

'If these are the maritime rights, for which, we are told with a pompous ambiguity that always avoids coming to the point, "our ancestors fought and bled," and for which "we crushed the northern confederacy," I am strangely mistaken.

'A candid consideration of the history of this trade can leave no doubt on which side the encroachments, so much talked of, began;

and, instead of imputing the complaints of the Americans, to their desire of availing themselves of our dangers, for the ungenerous purpose of advancing extravagant pretensions, we should rather accuse ourselves of taking advantage of the unprotected state of her commerce, to harass it by a systematic course of the most arbitrary inconsistency.'

We have great pleasure in laying before our readers the concluding remarks of Mr. Baring.

'The sources of power and strength vary widely in different countries. The general destruction of commerce, manufactures, and of every circumstance of artificial power and prosperity, may suit the interest of France, but we should be greatly mistaken in imitating her. The disorganization of commerce and of industry, has not improperly been considered as the best means of subduing a power whose basis rests upon them. But while our enemy is playing this wild but politic game, we must not forget that our safety requires the very opposite system of prudence and cautious preservation.

'France, in attacking our commerce, has proceeded upon the self-evident supposition, that a trading country must have others to trade with. From Europe she has therefore excluded us; but with prudence and skill we might move our island, commercially speaking, out of Europe. The great empire in the North America, and in a less degree the newly-founded one in the South, would have been sufficient objects of external commerce until better times returned; and it must have been no small gratification to reflect that these were holds of which the enemy could not dispossess us. We might be expelled from the whole of Europe; the peninsula of India, even though at a great distance, was not perfectly beyond the reach of the conqueror; but the opposite shores of the Atlantic bid defiance to his power, and could only be reached by that naval superiority which would equally enable him to attack us in our own islands.

'France having nearly obtained the utmost extent of her means of commercial annoyance, could only hope from ourselves the destruction of the valuable part of it beyond her reach. The Berlin decrees have very much the appearance of a provocation to try our temper. We formerly pursued steadily our interest with a dignified disregard of menacing language; but now we have been insulted, and something vigorous must be done in retaliation. France has used big words, but we will reply with big actions, and in the violence of our passion we have perhaps done the very thing which those words were intended to provoke. The mistaken opinions in this country of the nature and consequences of the French Revolution, have probably contributed more than any other cause to the present gigantic power of France. The exaggerated consequences expected from the successive national bankruptcies; the attempt to

crush the revolution by external force, are errors of which we are surprised to have ever been the dupe; but they are certainly not exceeded by that of expecting any benefit from running a race with France, in the destruction of commerce, and in violence towards our friends and allies. The line of conduct we have now adopted is for this country perfectly new; but we should recollect that we are closely hemmed in on every side; that we have little room for experiments of any sort; and that if past errors have brought us to the brink of a precipice, the next must throw us over it.

We hope that the present pamphlet in conjunction with that of Emancipation in Disguise, which we reviewed in our last number, will have some influence in stopping our ministers in that impetuous career of anti-commercial domination, which, if it be persevered in, will inevitably prove fatal to our maritime greatness and our national security.

ART. XI.—*Treatise on Pulmonary Consumption, in which a new View of the Principles of its Treatment is supported by original Observations on every Period of the Disease. To which is added, an Inquiry, proving that the medicinal Properties of the Digitalis, or Fox-Glove, are diametrically opposite to what they are believed to be.* By James Sanders, M.D. one of the Presidents of the Royal Medical and Royal Physical Societies of Edinburgh. 8vo. Murray.

THERE is a style and manner of addressing the public which may not be ill suited to a certain time of life, and a certain professional rank and station; but which must be deemed very unbecoming in the opposite circumstances.

The old professor, accustomed to relate his opinions *ex cathedra*, and whose judgment has been thought oracular, by a crowd of admiring pupils, cannot without constraint assume that modesty of phrase and manner, which none should wholly lay aside who present themselves before the bar of the public; and the same public, if they reap any solid instructions from his labours, is disposed to pardon the magisterial airs with which they are delivered, or the dogmatizing spirit which may pervade them. But the same airs and the same spirit are insufferable in the *coup d'essai* of a tyro. They can excite only feelings of ridicule and disgust. The ass in the lion's skin is the prototype of such writers.

With Dr. Sanders our first and only acquaintance has

been formed from the publication before us. We presume from the appendages to his name, that he is or very recently has been one of the orators of the Edinburgh medical clubs; institutions which perhaps do more harm than good, by turning the heads of some of the most hopeful pupils. The young men who figure in these clubs, are almost without exception immoderately puffed up with self conceit; and they unfortunately get a notion that they are great physicians, because they have acquired the knack of debating with some fluency and elegance; acquirements which are as intimately connected with medicine, as music or drawing, and to have attained which must probably have demanded a dreadful waste of time and talents. We hardly know what a medical pupil zealous to accomplish himself in his profession can learn at these spouting clubs; but we are sure that unless he possess a judgment of a very superior order, he will have much to unlearn. Dr. Sanders however, seems so perfectly satisfied with himself, that this last is, we fear, a process of which he is wholly incapable.

His treatise is ushered in with a long and tedious description, as he informs us, of the symptoms of the different stages of Phthisis Pulmonalis, which we will not say is transcribed from preceding writers; for we do not think it a just copy either from books or from nature. Symptom is huddled upon symptom without measure or method, and the greater part of them belong as much to any or every disease of the human body as to pulmonary consumption. It is said of the person who is predisposed to consumption, that

‘He can neither be greatly grieved nor greatly exhilarated; he cannot devote himself to excess of study, to long watching, to abstinence, nor to any privation; he can neither indulge indolence, nor enjoy the gratification of active amusement; he cannot in eating or drinking, exercising or resting, nor, finally, dare he, in obedience to the dictates of appetite or passion deviate from the golden rule of mediocrity.’

We have eight or ten pages more of such description, which we suppose the author intends to be perfectly Hippocratical. It is enough for us to remark that anasarca of the feet is given, as a sign of *incipient phthisis*. In the old school it has been always ranked among the last and worst symptoms; and nature most undoubtedly speaks the same language.

‘After these symptoms,’ proceeds our author, ‘have continued

some time, there commences copious warm sweating, followed by severe cold shivering; the pulse generally becomes softer, milder and slower, or may even intermit a little; to these symptoms succeed severe sickness, with a certain sensation of a tendency to faint, which terminates in vomiting of puriform matter, tinged perhaps with blood.'

This is to us perfectly new: the vomiting of pus, as an habitual system of phthisis is what we have never heard, read of, or seen. What is the origin of this matter? Does it come from the lungs by penetrating the diaphragm? Our president of the Royal Medical and Royal Physical Societies seems not able to stoop to these trifling and mechanical considerations, which would only impede the flight of his sublime imagination. After this notable piece of information we have several pages more of description of the fever of suppuration, the greater part of which is as appropriate to plague or yellow fever as to the hectic. It concludes thus:

'The superior portions of the cheeks project, and while the rest of the face is pale or livid, are covered with a florid redness; their soft parts are fallen in close on the teeth; the gums are shrivelled; teeth apparently lengthened; and the open mouth imitates a ghastly smile! who can behold this and not exclaim, what is man!'

Prodigiously fine indeed!

We have a section on the symptoms indicating the presence of mortification. What is the part mortified we are not told: but we presume it is the lungs. If so (for we do not speak with confidence) we must set this down to the same account as the purulent vomiting. It undoubtedly happens either most rarely or never at all.

That phthisis pulmonalis, is generally an inflammatory affection of the lungs, is an idea which Dr. Sanders thinks so definite and obvious, that it might have been expected that writers would have been unanimous on the subject. But as our author himself admits different species of the disease, and even describes some which, as he conceives, are wholly independent of inflammation, we see no reason for expecting this unanimity. The second species, he regards as the consequence of diminished vitality independent of inflammation: in some it is said that the disease was not well marked by any symptom, though after death the lungs were found to be *almost quite* destroyed. (p. 105). Granting this to be a fact, which we will not dispute, it goes to prove that inflammation is not the essence of the disease; but simply an adjunct; an opinion which we are much more in-

clined to adopt, than that espoused so warmly and not very consistently by Dr. Sanders. The recommendation of this little bit of theory being so *definite* and *obvious* has with us very little weight. That the sun and the whole host of the firmament turn round the earth, was an idea that was esteemed definite and obvious; but was not on that account a whit nearer the truth. In our own times that bodies owed their inflammability to the principle of phlogiston was a self-evident axiom to the great body of chemical philosophers; it had only the trifling misfortune of being a perfect non-entity. Dr. Sanders's definite and obvious truth of phthisis being essentially an inflammation of the lungs, stands, we think, upon the same foundation; except that, as far as we know, it is not the opinion of any enlightened man whatever.

Dr. Sanders speaks with great contempt of those who maintain that consumption of the lungs is a primary disease of the whole system. Willis, a celebrated physician of the seventeenth century, (so he kindly informs his readers) was of this opinion. But he does not advance a single argument to prove its falsehood, or to diminish its probability.

When an author adopts an hypothesis, reason, history, and the concurrent voice of both the literate and illiterate, are set at nought if they happen not completely to square with his theory. So it is with president Sanders. Having determined that consumption is a simple inflammation of the lungs, he rejects without scruple all the signs of predisposition as being absolutely without foundation.

'Being a year or two older or younger,' observes he, with the true flippancy of ignorance, 'being delicate of skin, soft of muscle, and tall with high shoulders and long neck, seem to me not more connected with inflammation of the lungs, than with that of any other part or organ of the body. Nor will narrowness of the chest and plethora be found to have any more connection with it than these.

'If the lungs are adapted to the cavities which enclose them, how should they be liable to inflammation in consequence of the particular dimensions of these cavities? if the quantity of blood received is no greater than what the pulmonary vessels can easily and safely circulate, how should the lungs become inflamed in consequence of the mere size of the thorax?'

Perhaps it may be enough to answer, that we know not how this happens, but that we are certain from experience that such is the fact. Nor need we be ashamed of our ignorance, till Dr. Sanders can instruct us why, in the gout, inflam-

mation seizes on the great toe ; why, in the angina parotidæa, or mumps, inflammation is transferred from the submaxillary glands to the testes ; and a thousand other inexplicable facts in pathology. But these strong signs of predisposition seem to us greatly to favour the opinion maintained by Dr. Rush, that consumption of the lungs is a primary disease of the whole system. In truth the mesenteric glands have been so commonly found disordered, that some physicians of no small weight, are of opinion that its origin is to be looked for in a derangement of the chylipoietic viscera.

The following paragraphs we consider as the very acme of extravagance and absurdity :

‘ It is worthy of serious attention, that there is nothing which so frequently induces phthical affections, as the fires kept in our apartments during winter. A person quits an atmosphere cooled much below the freezing point, and places himself near a fire where the temperature of the air is raised much above that of our blood, whence the greater number of sore throats, catarrhs, and incipient consumptions : nor is the heat the only thing to be dreaded ; the floating dust and various effluvia, which necessarily proceed from fires, are unavoidably injurious even to the soundest lungs.’

How then, we may ask, do the Russian peasants live in cottages, where the smoke has no outlet but through a hole in the roof of the cottage, without being affected with phthisis, or indeed with any other disease ? But let him proceed :

‘ If a board of health were instituted, which had power to regulate the economy of buildings, it would contribute very much to the prevention of such diseases, and to the preservation of very many valuable lives ; if all the apartments in which fires were not necessary for the preparation of food, were ordered to be heated by steam, and the temperature of them to be regulated by the thermometer ; were this precaution and other analogous adopted, I hesitate not to predict, that the British islands would be as free from pulmonary consumption as any country in the world.’

One plain fact is a full answer to this idle gasconade ; at Lisbon and even at Madeira, where there are neither our severe winters, nor our coal fires, consumption is common. We are anxious to enter our protest against this doctrine for the sake of the peace and good order of society. What an uproar may not be expected among the knights of the pestle, if so fruitful a source of the maintenance of honest and industrious people were cut off by this scheme of prevention ? Is it to be tolerated that the bricklayer is by this projected

blockade to take the bread out of the mouth of the apothecary? One punishment we heartily wish may befall the projector of so monstrous an innovation; it is that he may ever be excluded from the joys of the social circle collected round the blazing hearth.

However, to keep on good terms with the retailers of medicine, he seems abundantly persuaded of their utility even in this hopeless malady; and is, we think, much more lavish than judicious in his commendations. In scrofula and phthisis dependent upon scrofula, muriat of lime is extolled as a specific. It is ordered in doses of five grains twice a day, which is gradually increased to a drachm and half. We will say with the author 'that it would give us infinite pleasure, if the utility of this remedy in such complaints were completely established,—but remembering how much the muriat of barytes was extolled a few years ago in these same complaints, it is no unwarrantable scepticism to require more abundant evidence on the subject. But though he is sufficiently prodigal in his commendation of medicines, we do not find many marks of a discriminating judgment in the application of them; and his indications are some of them to us absolutely unintelligible. He would fain persuade us that the ulcers of the lungs are many different species 'of the scrofulous, the scorbutic, the syphilitic, the erythematic, the phlegmonous, encysted, cancerous; they may be superficial or deep seated; small or extensive; they may be slow or rapid in their morbid changes; they may be of the active, inflammatory, or of the putrid kind.' He tells us farther the consequence it is of 'that these varieties are accurately distinguished;'—that 'they must regulate our treatment and our hopes of cure.' This is almost entirely pure imagination: we are persuaded that no candid physician ever regulates his practice upon such suppositions; and Dr. Sanders is the first, as far as we know, who has assumed the gross affectation of pretending to these nice discriminations. And when he advises wine, cinchona camphor to *induce a good suppuration*, forsooth, we can do no more than compassionate the unfortunate patient, who is made the sport of such mischievous fancies. His proposal of inhaling stimulating vapours, does not, from the evidence produced in its favour, merit a moment's consideration.

Nearly half of the volume is taken up in the inquiry into the medical properties of the *digitalis*, and had Dr. Sanders acted with prudence he would have confined himself to the publication of this part of the work. By this he might have laid the foundation of a respectable reputation, and have

fairly claimed the praise of an intelligent and accurate observer. We say this with the greater willingness, to evince that the remarks we have felt it our duty to make, have been extorted from us. We should at all times feel pleasure in encouraging the generous ardour of young and aspiring minds; if, therefore, we acknowledge that we have perused this part of Dr. S.'s work with satisfaction, we hope it may have some effect in causing him to estimate duly his own powers; to consider

' quid ferre recusent
Quid valeant humeri.

A young physician may detail an interesting case with perspicuity; he may note, with accuracy, the influence of a powerful drug; but it does not therefore follow, that he can elucidate the nature, still less that he can arrest the ravages of a destructive and incurable disease: or that he should presume to dogmatise, and to outrage with sarcastic petulance the most honoured names of medical philosophy.

The facts with regard to the fox-glove, as stated by Dr. Sanders, and as it would appear, confirmed by the concurrent testimony of many of his fellow labourers and fellow students, lie within a narrow compass. Every physician has observed after the administration of this powerful drug, for a certain time, an extraordinary depression of the vital powers with a slowness of the pulse equally remarkable. They have therefore concluded, perhaps too hastily, that this was the primary and specific effect of this substance; and have accordingly gradually extended its use to cases of active inflammation, and to all diseases where they wished to diminish the activity of the circulation. But Dr. Sanders affirms that the first and primary effect of the digitalis is to excite fever, and very sensibly to accelerate the circulation, or at least uniformly to increase arterial force. He took for several days doses of the tincture of digitalis, and found this effect very decidedly; several of his friends and fellow pupils have experienced the same thing; and the same thing has appeared in several cases of disease. Those which he has related at length are given with a most tedious minuteness; nor are they all of them very convincing. We attach more weight to observations made on the healthy system; because the circulation is not subject to such great changes from internal and obscure causes. No one can venture to predict from counting the pulse of a consumptive patient to-day, what will be the number of pulsations in a minute to-

morrow. We copy the following observations with pleasure :

‘ With regard to the pulse alone, during the use of digitalis, we may observe that its beats are gradually increased in force and frequency for some time, after which they speedily sink below the usual medium of health, and this increase and diminution follow sooner or later in proportion to the quantity of the medicine and the excitability of the system.

‘ The increase of force and frequency in the pulsations is greatest and most rapid, during the use of digitalis in persons predisposed to, or affected with active local inflammation; and most speedily when either parts, previously sound, or those ulcerated, are proceeding, or are brought back to healthy suppuration, in which instances the digitalis and disease act with united violence.

‘ In persons, on the contrary, affected with dropsy or collection of matter from degenerating ulcers, the pulse is invigorated, rendered steady, and diminishing in number, returns towards the standard of health in proportion as the effused fluid or puriform matter is removed; but this diminution is very different in its nature from that which succeeds the too liberal or too long continued use of the medicine; the former is the effect of the irritating cause being removed; the latter of the powers of life being exhausted by its action; the one salutary, the other pernicious.’

These remarks are important; and we are inclined to pay them the more attention, as they practically coincide with rules and precautions laid down by Dr. Withering, who was principally instrumental in introducing this medicine to the notice of practitioners. It therefore gives us the more regret to pronounce that (with the exception of the observations on fox glove) we have not been able to pick up a single remark of consequence on the subject of pulmonary consumption from this treatise. We find that Dr. Sanders intends giving to the world some other treatises on dropsy, hydrothorax, and hydrocephalus. We advise him, if he regards the good opinion of the profession and the public, to weigh well what he is about, to divest himself of professorial airs, and to assume the more becoming and more popular garb of a modest enquirer.

ART. XII.—*Considerations on the best Means of calling forth the general Strength of the Country for its present and permanent Defence.* By Miles et Baronettus. 8vo. pp. 31. Johnson.

Est curvos agitos, curvos dāi megi valens.

THE disastrous result of the late campaign has laid the

greater part of Europe at the mercy of one, whose 'tender mercies are cruel.' Till the present period, Buonaparte has never been able to regard himself as fully protected, in the event of any temporary reverse of fortune, from the just resentments of his continental neighbours. Struck by the shafts of Ulm and of Austerlitz, the German eagle was hitherto waiting the moment of safe revenge; 'the terror of his beak and lightnings of his eye' were 'quenched,' not 'in dark clouds of slumber,' but in a kind of political nictation. Nor could the Prussian contemplate the plains of Jena, without some vindictive throbbings of his lethargic nature. The fatal days of Friedland and Tilsit were still wanting to enable the western emperor to appreciate the energies and the placability of his imperial brother of the north. Now, he may securely turn the whole tide of war against these shores; and it becomes, now, therefore more than ever, incumbent upon us to consider how, if it be permitted or able to reach the shores, it may best be resisted or repelled.

That disciplined volunteers, the manly population of the country, under the impulse of pure patriotism, breathing nothing but hostility to the invader, would be a very effective, as well as truly constitutional mode of defence, will hardly be disputed. Whether or not pure patriotism, unmixed with more oblique, but perhaps more powerful motives (e.g. exemptions from the *levée en masse* act, the ballot, &c.) has universally given the impulse to the volunteers of Great Britain, it might here be invidious to enquire. Our chief object is to ascertain, in the words of the present writer, '*What are the best means of rendering them effectual troops, with the least expence of time and money.*' P. 15.

They had once, we are told,

'The happy delusion of imagining themselves fully equal to cope, man for man, with any French troops that might be brought against them. This was a very natural idea to those who, from knowing nothing of military matters, found there were only eighteen manœuvres in their printed catechism; which, having acquired, they conceived themselves to have become masters of the profession.' P. 12.

Mr. Windham, however, has treated them like the lunatic gentleman of Argos,

In vacuo latus sessor plausorque theatro;

and by the 'unmixed hellebore,' to which his projected

(and now, alas ! defeated) improvements of our military system gave rise, has violently wrenched from them this *mentis gratissimus error*. The cheat is detected, and if ever they 'again acquire confidence,' it must be founded upon the solid basis of being entitled to it. That confidence, well or ill-founded, often justifies itself, as the oracles of antiquity frequently contributed to their own accomplishment, we mean not to deny ; but we should have been sorry to risk our existence, as a nation, upon the theory. As a supplement to military skill, it is undoubtedly valuable ; as a substitute for it, it cannot be too strenuously deprecated. Were Lieutenant General Lord Mulgrave himself restored from the Admiralty, where by a peculiar principle of adaptation pervading the new cabinet he has been so judiciously placed, to the longing embraces of his own profession, it will be short of treason to doubt, whether even he could lead the volunteers, under their old system, to victory, against the veteran squadrons of France, 'approved in many a bloody field,' under the guidance of Ney and of Soult, of Davoust and of Bernadotte.

The whole annual expence for the current year, under the head of 'Volunteer Corps,' including one-third of the triennial expence for clothing (we learn from this accurate estimate) may be taken at somewhat *more* than a million and a quarter. The extra expenditure in fine clothes and additional pay, supported by private and public subscription on their first establishment, the author justly reprehends : the first, because it 'led to a false standard of expenditure among the various corps;' and the latter, because it 'made those who received it, look upon their service as a matter of pecuniary profit, and not of public concern,' beside operating, in common, as 'a heavy tax upon the generous, and saving the pockets of the illiberal.' Militia-clothing, government-pay, and permanent duty for three weeks annually (particularly for the scattered country corps of infantry) in lieu of drilling in home-quarters, are strongly enforced. Upon the last of these articles, which seems now to be very generally adopted, we recommend p. 19, as compendiously and ably exhibiting its advantages.

He then very sensibly proceeds to suggest, that each corps should be 'reviewed on the last day of its performing permanent duty;' the prospect of which would 'operate as a powerful stimulus to exertion during the whole time;' and the effect of which would be, to correct the unfair representations, 'occasioned in a former instance by the different circumstances under which the reports were made and pub-

lished.' The training he would confine to the most absolute essentials: the light-infantry manœuvres he prefers, for such corps as may be adapted to them, to 'the heavy precision of the line;' and in order to give their officers what he regards as a *necessary* extension of authority, to the privilege of immediate resignation (which each private now possesses) he would substitute an enactment, that after three months' notice, for the purpose of allowing every man an option on the subject, they should be 'fixed in the service for three years; a discretionary power being at the same time vested in the commandants, enabling them to grant discharges to such as could not continue in their respective corps without actual loss or great inconveniences.' The former part of this sensible hint is to some extent realized, even by the new administration, who include the volunteers in the existing ballot; so that any one of that class, upon whom the lot falls, though he will not be withdrawn by government from his present mode of service, cannot withdraw himself without stepping from the ranks of the volunteers into those of the militia. But this check to resignation, it must be observed, will only operate upon the small proportion of volunteers, who may be actually balloted.

The last half-dozen pages of this judicious and practical little pamphlet are devoted to the consideration of 'the proposed general levy.' These its author would have simply taught to 'load quick, and fire with a steady level; to march well in line, and file-march without extension; to wheel and be able to form a column upon any named company; and, *above all, TO MAKE A STEADY CHARGE WITH THE BAYONET.*' In their tuition, he would employ the adjutants and serjeant-majors of volunteer-corps, who receive constant pay, and by the proposed plan would be disengaged forty-nine weeks out of the fifty-two.

Whatever relates to the defence of England, of the

παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε παλαιοῶν ἰδὼν,
Θηκας τε προγοῶν—

has at all times a paramount claim upon our attention. The cosmopolitan may boast, with philosophical indifference, that he considers the whole world as his country; we glory in professing our reverence for the narrow *prejudices*, which suggested to Tacitus his *nisi si patria sit*, and to Euripides the

Οὐκ ἐστὶ τῷ θεῷ παῖς ἡδὼν παῖδον.

These it is the noble object of this *volunteer* composition to cherish, and to enforce; and upon a careful *review* of it, as inspecting officers in the fields of literature, we pronounce it 'fit to act with the line.'

ART. XIII.—*The Remains of Henry Kirke White of Nottingham, late of St. John's College, Cambridge; with an Account of his Life.* By Robert Southey. 2 vols. 12mo. 14s. Longman, &c. 1807.

MR. Southey appears to have discharged the office of biographer, with truth and impartiality. We shall give an abstract of his account of the life, as a preliminary to our criticism upon the works of Mr. Henry Kirke White.

Like Akenside, this author arose from the shambles, and like Chatterton, displayed only the dawn of his genius. His extraordinary capacity manifested itself before he was emancipated from the discipline of his governess. At the age of seven, he composed a tale; at eleven, he wrote a separate theme for every boy of his class, which consisted of twelve or fourteen. The earliest of the poems which appear in this collection, was written at thirteen, 'on being confined to school one pleasant morning in spring.' The following lines are taken from it:

'How gladly would my soul forego,
All that arithmeticians know,
Or stiff grammarians quaintly teach,
Or all that industry can reach;
To taste, each morn, of all the joys,
That with the laughing sun arise,
And unconstrained to rove along
The bushy brakes and glens among,
And woo the Muse's gentle power,
In unfrequented rural bower.
But ah! such heav'n-approaching joys,
Will never greet my longing eyes.
Still will they cheat in vision fine,
Yet never but in fancy shine.' V. I. p. 5.

The usage of the midland dialect may be pardoned in a youth, who, it was at first intended should carry the butcher's basket. At fourteen we find him risen a step in society, and bound as an hosier's apprentice; to spend seven years of his life in shining and folding up stockings. His sense of the irksomeness of his situation is pretty strongly expressed in an address to Contemplation, written at this period.

'Men may rave,
And blame and censure me, that I don't tie

My ev'ry thought down to the desk, and spend
The morning of my life in adding figures
With accurate monotony; that so
The good things of the world may be my lot,
And I might taste the blessedness of wealth,
But oh! I was not made for money-getting.' V, i. p. 7.

After a twelvemonth's misapplication of his talents at the loom, his father was with difficulty persuaded to place him in an attorney's office. Here he devoted his scanty portion of leisure in the day, with all that he could borrow from the night, to the acquirement of the learned languages, and at the same time made himself a tolerable Italian scholar, and obtained some knowledge of the Spanish and Portuguese. Astronomy and electricity were among his studies: he had taught himself to play pleasingly by ear upon the pianoforte, and displayed a turn for mechanics, in fitting up his little study with his own hands. After repeated failures, on account of his youth, he was chosen a member of a literary society in Nottingham, and in consequence of an extemporaneous lecture of two hours upon genius, was unanimously elected their professor of literature. About this period, he gained many prizes from the conductors of the *Monthly Preceptor*. He then became a correspondent of the *Monthly Mirror*, and attracted the notice of Mr. Capel Loft, and Mr. Hill, the proprietor of the work, under whose auspices he published a volume of poems in his eighteenth year, dedicated by permission to the duchess of Devonshire. His patroness forgot him, and the *Monthly Reviewers* would not be propitiated: That he deserved neither the moroseness of censure, nor the cruelty of neglect, will best appear from the following extracts.

A lover on his return to his native land, finds that his mistress had broken her vows of constancy, and married another man.

' 'Twas night, he sought the river's lonely shore,
And trac'd again their former wand'rings o'er.
Now on the bank in silent grief he stood,
And gaz'd intently on the stealing flood,
Death in his mien, and madness in his eye,
He watch'd the waters as they murmur'd by;
Bade the base murderess triumph o'er his grave,
Prepar'd to plunge into the whelming wave—
Yet still he stood, irresolutely bent,
Religion sternly stay'd his rash intent.

He knelt—cool play'd upon his cheek the wind,
 And fann'd the fever of his madd'ning mind.
 The willows wav'd, the stream it sweetly swept,
 The paly moonbeam on its surface slept;
 And all was peace—he felt the general calm
 O'er his rack'd bosom, shed a genial balm:
 When jutting far behind his streaming eye
 He saw the grove—in fancy saw *her* lie,
His Margaret, lull'd in *Germain's* arms to rest,
 And all the demon rose within his breast.
 Convulsive now, he clench'd his trembling hand,
 Cast his dark eye once more upon the land,
 Then at one spring he spurn'd the yielding bank,
 And in the calm deceitful current sank.
 Sad on the solitude of night the sound,
 As in the stream he plung'd, was heard around.
 Then all was still, the wave was rough no more,
 The river swept as sweetly as before,
 The willows war'd, the moonbeam shone serene,
 And peace returning, brooded o'er the scene.'

Clifton Grove, V. ii. p. 24.

To an early Primrose.

- ' Mild offspring of a dark and sullen sire,
 Whose modest form, so delicately fine,
 Was nurs'd in whirling storms,
 And cradled in the winds.
- ' Thee, when young spring first questioned winter's sway,
 And dar'd the sturdy blasterer to the fight,
 Thee on this bank he threw
 To mark his victory.
- ' In this low vale, the promise of the year,
 Serene, thou openest to the nipping gale;
 Unnotic'd and alone
 Thy tender elegance.
- ' So virtue blooms, brought forth amid the storms,
 Of chill adversity; in some lone walk
 Of life, she rears her head
 Obscure and unobserv'd.
- ' While every bleaching breeze that on her blows,
 Chastens her spotless purity of breast,
 And hardens her to bear,
 Serene the ills of life.' (V. ii. p. 52.)

The object of this publication was to obtain some pecuniary assistance towards enabling him to prosecute his stu-

dies at Cambridge ; for he was now determined to quit the lucrative profession of the law, and to devote himself to the ministry of the gospel. His early opinions had been tinctured with deism, but the perusal of Scott's *Force of Truth* had carried him, too far, in our opinion, towards an opposite extreme. In a letter dated April 10, 1804, he says,

' I am resolved to waste my time no longer, over a profession which I cannot follow with inward satisfaction. God calls me to the ministry, he calls me audibly, and I think circumstances all conspire, as by an especial providence, to hasten my resolution. I have told my mother, finally, that I have abandoned my profession, and her anxiety has drawn from me the declaration, that in case I am precluded from the church, I will enter the Calvinistic Society. With the tenets I do accord in a great measure ; I am a liberal predestinarian, I rest more upon foreknowledge, than prejudication ; and so far as regards arminianism, I could not in conscience preach it, as some do. I know many exemplary christians have been of the calvinistic dissenting persuasion, and I often flatter myself that I shall revive the character of the sect, and in God's hands, be instrumental in the renovation of their pristine purity. At all events, wherever God may call, thither will I go.' V. i. p. 93.

By the exertions of his friends, the benevolence of Mr. Simeon and Mr. Wilberforce, and the emoluments of a sizarship at St. John's, he was enabled to maintain himself at the university.

He was advised by Mr. Simeon to degrade for a year, which he spent in the most laborious application, chiefly to the classics, with Mr. Grainger, of Winteringham, Lincolnshire. The following is an extract from what he states to be nearly the only poetical effort of the year 1805.

' Yes, my stray steps have wander'd, wander'd far,
From thee, and long, heart-soothing poesy !

————— Tho' thou hast ceas'd
To hover o'er the many-voiced strings
Of my long silent lyre, yet thou canst still
Call the warm tear from its thrice hallow'd cell,
And with recalled images of bliss,
Warm my reluctant heart. Yes, I would throw,
Once more would throw, a quick and hurried hand
O'er the responding chords. — It hath not ceas'd,
It cannot, will not cease ; the heavenly warmth
Plays round my heart, and mantles o'er my cheek,
Still, tho' unbidden, plays.....

————— Sorceress !

Y 2

I cannot burst thy bonds! It is but lift
 Thy blue eyes to that deep bespangled vault,
 Wreath thy enchanted tresses round thine arm,
 And mutter some obscure and charmed rhyme,
 And I could follow thee on thy night's work,
 Up to the regions of thrice-chasten'd fire,
 Or in the caverns of the ocean flood,
 Thrid the light mazes of thy volant foot,' &c. V. i. p. 174.

At St. John's he distinguished himself greatly, both in his classical and mathematical studies, but not without the sacrifice of his health, and ultimately of his life. His college afforded him a fatal indulgence in providing him with a tutor, during the long vacation of 1806. The following description of his state in July is of the most melancholy cast.

'Last Saturday morning I rose early and got up some rather abstruse problems in mechanics for my tutor, spent an hour with him, between 8 and 9 got my breakfast, and read the Greek history (at breakfast) till ten, then sat down to decypher some logarithm tables; I think I had not done any thing at them, when I lost myself. At a quarter past eleven my laundress found me bleeding in four different places in my face and head, and insensible. I got up and staggered about the room, and she, being frightened, ran away, and told my Gyp to fetch a surgeon. Before he came I was sallying out with my flannel gown on, and my academical gown over it; he made me put on my coat, and then I went to Mr. Farish's: he opened a vein, and my recollection returned.—I am ordered to remit my studies for a while, by the common advice both of doctors and tutors. Dr. Pennington hopes to prevent any recurrence of the fit. He thinks it looks towards epilepsy, of the horrors of which malady I have a very full and precise idea; and I only pray that God will spare me as respects my faculties, however else it may seem good to him to afflict me. Were I my own master, I know how I should act; but I am tied here by bands, which I cannot burst. I know that change of place is needful; but I must not indulge in the idea. The college must not pay my tutor for nothing. Dr. Pennington and Mr. Farish attribute the attack to a too continued tension of the faculties. As I am much alone now, I never get quite off study, and I think incessantly. I know nature will not endure this.' V. i. p. 233.

After he had attempted to procure some relaxation by a journey to London, which appears to have produced a contrary effect, his illness increased upon him. His mind and body were now absolutely worn out; he became delirious; afterwards sunk into a state of stupor; and died on the 19th of October, aged only twenty-one!

This collection of his works, which Mr. Southey rather quaintly and obsoletely, though not improperly, entitles his *Remains*, is composed of letters, poems, and prose compositions. The last are generally of inferior merit, both with regard to the style, which does not rise above the mark of our second-rate essayists, and the matter, which though full of good sense has little originality and much common-place. His 'Melancholy Hours' answer to the title: They are like the arid aftermath of an exhausted meadow: yet even these are wonderful, when considered as the juvenile production of a self-cultivated mind.

His letters are deeply interesting; they are written from the heart, and forcibly depict the efforts of unassisted genius. They betray his consciousness of his own powers, his eager appetite for fame, and his invincible love of poetry. They indicate him to have possessed the generic distinctions of the bardic character; to have been naturally mild and amiable in the discharge of his relative duties, and susceptible of the emotions of piety, but by no means devoid of the angry and indignant passions, and open to the voice of praise. A morbid gloom and sense of annoyance pervaded the mass of his feelings and sentiments; and he would sometimes forget to enjoy the good while the shapes of evil haunted his imagination. He is not querulous but sad; and his smile is more expressive of pity, than of mirth. He is reserved from sensibility, and not from the wish of concealment. In moralizing, he inclines to the school which teaches to wrap up the heart in the mantle of distress, and call it happiness. In religion he became a disciple of those who deem it necessary to make their faith the burden of their talk.

His poetical works exhibit the true marks of the *Θεός Αοιδῆς*. Generally pathetic, frequently sublime, his powers of imitation are varied almost beyond example; a surer criterion of genius than the fastidious affectation of originality. It would be difficult to prove, that he has taken any one of our best poets as his model, so happily has he copied their different styles. The strings of his lyre are many-voiced. His versification is easy, fluent, and melodious: his diction free from affectation, and generally simple. A vein of thought, or perhaps thoughtfulness, runs through all his productions. He possessed that good sense, which is the fountain of good writing. In his poem called 'Time' he aims at philosophy, perhaps not always successfully and without the admixture of putid moralizing. It must be admitted that there is too frequent a recurrence of favourite images and expressions, and that he is not free from inaccuracies of

language even in his later works. His mathematical abstraction and his sectarian enthusiasm seem to have been unfavourable to the full expansion of his poetical abilities. These weird sisters tore him from the embraces of 'heart-soothing poesy,' and forced him to hang up his lyre, but no without this pathetic strain.

' Thus far have I pursued my solemn theme
 With self-rewarding toil ;—thus far have sung
 Of godlike deeds, far loftier than beseem
 The lyre, which I in early days have strung ;
 And now my spirits faint, and I have hung
 The shell, that solac'd me in saddest hour,
 On the dark cypress ! and the strings which rung,
 With Jesu's praise, their harpings now are o'er,
 Or when the breeze comes by, moan, and are heard no more.

' And must the harp of Judah sleep again ?
 Shall I no more re-animate the lay ?
 Oh ! Thou who visitest the sons of men,
 Thou, who dost listen, when the humble pray,
 One little space prolong my mournful day !
 One little lapse suspend thy last decree !
 I am a youthful traveller in the way,
 And this slight boon would consecrate to thee,
 Ere I with Death shake hands, and smile that I am free.
The Christiad, v. ii. p. 191.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE.

RELIGION.

ART. 14.—*A Letter to a Barrister, in Answer to his Hints to the Public and the Legislature on the Nature and Effect of Evangelical preaching.* By Robert Hawker, D. D. Vicar of Charles, Plymouth. 8vo. Williams and Smith. 1808.

A COMMON way which people have of getting rid of an argument, of which they feel the truth and cannot repel the force, is to *blink the question*. This remark is not a little verified in the present notable performance. The Reverend Doctor has not attempted to disprove that the principles which the Evangelical fraternity inculcate, must, as far as they are acted upon, be productive of immorality ; but he has endeavoured to elude the charge of

the Barrister by extraneous observations, by self-sufficient egoism, and oblique but invidious personalities. The attack which the Barrister has made on the very citadel of *Evangelical* delusion, appears to us incapable of being repelled even by so able and expert a general officer in the service of methodism as Dr. Hawker. And we do not depreciate the strength of arm with which the Doctor thumps the pulpit, when we say,

Si Pergama dextra

Defendi possent, etiam hæc defensa fuissent.

Methodism when its doctrines are rationally examined, and their practical consequences logically deduced, must succumb under the charge of encouraging the most atrocious violations of truth, justice, charity, and every moral obligation. What fruit, for instance, but that of crimes, can be expected to flow from this breviary of that horrible superstition? that man comes into the world a lump of depravity and corruption; that every vicious propensity is, without the contagion of bad example, instilled into his nature from his birth; that he is irresistibly impelled to evil; that this impulse can be counteracted only by a miracle; that this miracle can be wrought only by attending the sermons of a *Gospel* preacher, who is the appointed medium of distributing certain portions of *saving grace* among his audience: that the conversion of a sinner does not consist in a gradual change of habits, but in an instantaneous regeneration produced by the third person in the trinity, paying his respects to the preacher in the tabernacle; that this regeneration is from all eternity designed for some and never vouchsafed to others; that persons thus regenerated, without knowing why or how, have, so great is the modesty of the elect, a *full assurance* of salvation; that a man cannot be more certain of any thing than a methodist is of being in favour with the Deity; that, let the godly do what they will, they have a most ample breadth of sponge for wiping off the unrighteous score; that the blood of Christ has atoned for all the sins they ever did, or ever can commit; that his merits are so infinite, that there is no occasion for any merit in themselves? This doctrine may, for aught we know, be well calculated to *comfort* the feelings of the people and the priest;—but the question is, what must be its moral tendencies and effects? As far as the doctrine is practically obeyed, there is no species of crime which it may not induce a man *very devoutly* to commit. If the methodists assert the doctrine, they cannot logically deny the consequences, when the consequences are legitimately deduced from the principles. If the methodists are not in point of conduct so bad as their tenets necessarily tend to make them, the effect must not be imputed to the practice, but to the dereliction of the principles. If there be any highly virtuous characters among the frequenters of the tabernacle, and we trust there are many such, these virtues must in fact spring up, not in conformity, but in direct opposition to the tenets which

are most strenuously taught by their spiritual pastors and masters. For these tenets themselves must, as far as they are acted upon, discourage virtuous exertion, and furnish the strongest incentives to a life of unfeeling, obdurate, and persevering vice.

ART. 15.—*The Proneness of a philosophizing Spirit to embrace Error ; with Remarks upon Mr. Lancaster's new System of Education, pointing out its Defects and Errors, with regard to religious Instruction, and moral Management ; a Sermon preached at the yearly Meeting of the Sunday-Schools in the Collegiate Church of Manchester ; and now published at the Request of the Reverend the Warden and Fellows of the said Church. By the Rev. R. Barlow, Master of the Free Grammar School of Winwick, and Minister of Burton Wood. Manchester. Wheeler. 1808.*

IF writers, before they publish their crude effusions, would be at the pains of affixing definite ideas to the terms which they use, it would save us the necessity of much superfluous reading, and them the infliction of much disagreeable reprehension. A *philosophizing spirit* is, according to the meaning which we affix to the word, not necessarily prone to error. For a *philosophizing spirit*, means a wisdom-loving spirit ; but a wisdom-loving spirit, is studious of truth ; and therefore to assert that the same spirit is, at the same time, studious of falsehood, is a contradiction in terms. A *philosophizing* or *wisdom-loving spirit* indicates a mind which is ardent not only in the discovery of truth, but in the detection of error ; and the more minds there are of such a cast, the more is the mass of truth likely to be augmented, and that of error to be diminished. The abuse therefore, which Mr. Barlow lavishes on a *philosophizing spirit*, would with much more fitness have been bestowed on the opposite, or a spirit which is propense to error and indifferent to truth. Mr. R. Barlow objects to Mr. Lancaster's plan of education because it does not go out of its way to inculcate the *depravity of human nature*, the *atonement*, or any other doctrine which Mr. Barlow in his wisdom thinks *essential*. When Mr. Barlow, or any other gentleman can prove these doctrines to be *essential*, we shall thank him for them for the information. But we have always been taught that no doctrine is an essential part of christianity, but what Christ himself taught. We have often read the four gospels with considerable attention, but we have never yet been able to discover that any such doctrines are taught by Christ. The only essentials of christianity, which Christ taught, consist in loving God with all our hearts, and our neighbour as ourselves. These great principles of duty are incorporated in the system of Mr. Lancaster ; and we do not believe that even the *anti-philosophizing spirit* of Mr. Barlow, will soon be able to teach a more pure theology than these two precepts impress upon the mind, the heart, and life.

ART. 16.—*Sermons on various Subjects. By John Bidlake, Chaplain to their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Duke of Clarence. 7s. 6d. 8vo. Murray. 1808.*

THESE sermons are sixteen in number; the four first of which are on the several seasons of the year; two are occasional discourses; and the rest relate to subjects of permanent and practical importance. They are on the whole pleasing and edifying compositions; the language is neat and clear; the piety rational and benevolent, consolatory and impressive. From his dedication Mr. Bidlake appears to reside at Plymouth; and we are happy to find that that town possesses a clergyman, who seems both able and willing to furnish the devout with some antidotes to the immoral and deleterious nostrums which are so lavishly retailed in the evangelical cant of Dr. Hawker.

ART. 17.—*The Origin of Naval Architecture, a Discourse accommodated to the General Fast. By Philopharos. 8vo. Matthews and Leigh. 1808.*

WHETHER the general fast was much accommodated by this discourse, we are at a loss to pronounce; but thus far we can venture to affirm that it is by no means accommodated to the general taste; at least, of that circle of hearers and readers who prefer plain good sense to unmeaning rhapsody and common-place cant. The style of 'the Origin of Naval Architecture' may be seen by the following example:

'In whatever point of light we consider the christian righteousness, whether as it respect our personal holiness, or our eternal salvation, it is 'a righteousness of faith,' for which we must be entirely indebted to the great object ultimately typified or prefigured by the Noachal ark, as well as more extensively by the 'ark of the Covenant;' for who is there that is piously habituated to these meditations, and sees not in this whole transaction, a lively picture of the method of our redemption by Jesus Christ, from a far more dreadful flood than we are now improving? The Ark, the Dove, the olive-branch, the sacrifice, the rainbow, have all of them a reference to this illustrious person.' (p. 29.)

This discourse deals largely in invective against the depravity and wickedness of the age, but the writer speaks as 'one having authority,' and he is justified, as it appears, in so doing, for he has been raised, he reminds us, though by what mode of investiture we are not told, to a very high appointment;—'It may perhaps,' says he, 'be deemed impertinent in me, in such a delicate age of nauseous and effeminate politeness, to use this unreserve; but you will recollect, that I am appointed to 'stand upon the watch-tower, and to sound the alarm.' If the profits of his station will pay for it, we would advise him to buy a new trumpet, for the present is so sadly cracked, that he may stand for ever on the watch-tower, without sounding it to any rational purpose.

ART. 18.—*An Essay on the Epistles of Ignatius. By the Rev. W. Cox, M. A. Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 23. price 1s. 6d. Hatchard.*

WE are informed by the Christian Advocate that he has not of late discovered any direct attack upon Christianity. As this gentleman is conceived to speak *ex cathedra*, we receive his information with that profound reverence which is due to his high situation and to his supposed qualifications for the character and dignity he has assumed.

Admitting then the correctness of this statement, and rejoicing that we can quote such an authority for its truth, still we must think that our author need not have been driven to the Epistles of Ignatius for the exercise of those weapons which we presume are always in order and ready for action. What an advantage to our establishment thus to have a champion equipped *ex officio* for its defence! And yet if we can judge from this trial of his strength, he is not ever on the alert, and the vigilance which his office demands must eventually injure his constitution, if it have not already impaired his intellect.

We cannot congratulate *the advocate* on having thrown an 'excess of light' upon a subject which *the learned* have agreed to think somewhat obscure, and we recommend him not to intrude amongst the Pearsons, the Lardners and the Mosheims between whom and himself there is in common nothing. Many publications of the present day teem with insinuations against Christianity, and if he can secure the unwary from their influence, he will execute a task of general utility, and one much more suited to his powers than that which he has here undertaken.

Sumite materiam vestris, qui scribitis, æquaræ
Viribus, &c. &c. Hor. de Art. Poet. 41.

ART. 19.—*Divine Service for the Camp or Garrison, as performed at the Drum-head, with the Outlinea of a few Discourses, or Field Sermons, adapted to the Understanding and Circumstances of the Private Soldier, to which is annexed a Sketch of the Form of Consecration of a Stand of Colours. By the Reverend William Henry Pratt. 8vo. Asperne. 1807.*

AS brevity is the soul of wit, so it also is of these sermons.

ART. 20.—*Hints for Religious Conversations with the Afflicted in Mind, Body, or Estate, and with such others as stand in Need of Spiritual Assistance. By the Rev. Mr. Richards, formerly of Trinity College, Oxon; the sixth Edition, with an Appendix, containing Directions for promoting Religion in ourselves and others, by the same Author; Materials for talking familiarly with Children and ignorant Persons, from Bishop Wilson; various Means*

of doing Good, bodily and spiritually, by the Rev. Sir J. Stonehouse, Bart. M. D. Means of facilitating the religious Instruction of the Poor; Prayers, &c. for the Visitation of the Sick. 8vo. 1s. Williams and Smith. 1807.

POLITICS.

ART. 21.—*A Letter to a Country Gentleman on the Education of the lower Orders, and on the best Means of attaining all that is practicable or desirable, of that important Object. By John Weyland, Jun. Esq. Author of 'a short Inquiry into the Policy, Humanity, and past Effects of the Poor Laws,' &c. &c.* 8vo. Hatchard. 1808.

MR. Weyland appears to be a sensible and well-meaning man. His opinions do not indeed exactly coincide with our own; but we are not, on that account, willing to contest his claim to equal philanthropy; or to deny that his present performance contains many judicious observations. We lament with Mr. Weyland that the education of the poor should be made a party-question; but that is not the fault of Mr. Whitbread but of his opponents. Mr. Whitbread's plan of education was so constructed as not to favour the particular views of any faction in the church or in the state. But the high-flying tories and the reputedly orthodox churchmen, manifested a pertinacious reluctance to support it, unless it be so modelled as to harmonize with their political and religious sentiments. They are willing to concur in the measure, provided it be rendered subservient to their sinister and interested views. Even Mr. Weyland, who is by no means deficient in liberality of sentiment, seems to think that the principle of national utility ought to be rendered subordinate to the interests of the ecclesiastical establishment. Mr. Whitbread's plan of education is founded on the basis of the most comprehensive charity. No narrow, no sectarian views enter into the composition; it is not a scheme calculated merely to raise recruits for the church or for the conventicle; but to promote the moral and intellectual improvement of all denominations of christians. The great end of religion is to improve the morals of mankind; but moral practice has no necessary connection with the ambiguous subtleties of theological disputation. Those tenets of a moral government, a superintending providence, and a state of rewards and punishments after death, which all sects, who have any claim to the title of christian, feel it their duty constantly to inculcate, will, when rationally explained in all their various bearings and relations, be sufficient to furnish the most ample persuasions and encouragements, to the practical duties of life. The best breviary of religion, with which we are acquainted, is contained in the answers to the two questions in the church catechism, what is your duty towards God? and what is your duty towards your neighbour? The practical common sense of piety, which is contained in these admirable summaries of our

duty towards God and towards our neighbour is, when combined with the sanction of a future life in the glorious fact of the resurrection, as much religion as is requisite for every social use ; for the proper regulation of the conduct and the affections of the peasant or the sage. What moral good could Mr. Weyland think to produce by teaching the children of ploughmen and carpenters or masons, the Athanasian creed, or making them get by heart the thirty-nine articles ? Yet this would be to instruct them in the *peculiar tenets* of the establishment ; but those doctrinal peculiarities may very well be dispensed with in any system of national education ; the great end of which is not to make men subtle polemics or narrow-minded sectaries, but sober, rational, and benevolent christians.

We cannot agree with Mr. W. that it would be proper to make any alterations in the toleration act of 1st W. and M. That act may have been productive of particular inconveniencies, but we think that they are more than compensated by a preponderance of benefits. It may have encouraged, as Mr. W. jocosely insinuates, cobblers, pastry-cooks, and chimney-sweepers to undertake the office of religious instructors, without sufficient qualifications ; but the effervescence of religious zeal, however ignorant may be the persons whose bosoms it perturbs, is never dangerous except when it is attempted to be forcibly compressed. If the toleration act encourage a diversity of preachers and a multiplication of sects, yet it, at the same time, serves as a conductor to their malevolent passions, and their infuriated hate. There appears to be a good deal of reason in what Mr. Weyland says in respect to the operation of fixed salaries to the schoolmasters. First, we think that the patronage, to which it would give rise, would probably be abused ; and the favour of the churchwardens, &c. would have more weight than the merit of the individual. We have known an instance of a man being made parish clerk because he had a *sore leg* ; and this appointment was judged a proper means of providing for such infirmity without increasing the parochial rate. These parochial schools might thus become, without proper restrictions, a very convenient receptacle not only for sore legs but for bleared eyes and deaf ears. Whatever provision may be thought proper for the schoolmaster, we think that at least the larger portion of it should depend on the exertions of the individual. Fixed salaries will necessarily encourage indolence. The best way to encourage activity is by the prospect of reward. But where industry is placed on the same footing of recompense with idleness, industry will succumb ; and idleness will soon reign paramount in the field. We have ample proof of this in those establishments where the drones grow fat and the bees grow lean ; where the effrontery of torpid dulness or of moneyed vice causes genius and worth to hide their diminished heads.

We are by no means friendly to the busy interposition of government in matters of trade, or in any other concerns which are best left to the good sense and vigorous competition of individuals.

Now the business of a schoolmaster may certainly be regarded as a trade; and it is a trade by which many an honest man earns his bread. It may then be asked, is it right in government by any officious interposition to turn this trade out of its accustomed channels, and to take the business of schoolmaster on itself? Would it be wise in government to establish a cheap shop for tea and sugar and broad cloth in every parish in the kingdom? Is it more wise in government to undertake the business of pedagogue than of grocer or draper? Is not education, as well as trade in general, likely to prosper most where government interferes the least? Will not every individual be thus most likely to obtain that kind and degree of education which are best suited to his station in life? Does it not seem as absurd to attempt to put all men on a level in point of education as in point of circumstances? In the present literary age there is no fear lest the business of education should be neglected. Is it not at present *too good a thing* not to thrive? And its being a *good thing* or a means of maintenance will animate the exertions not only of those who teach *hic hæc hoc*, but *a b c*. We are warm friends to Mr. Lancaster's schools, and we think that Mr. Whitbread shewed great good sense in taking Mr. Lancaster's as the basis of his plan for the education of the poor. But it may still be fairly argued whether the schools of Mr. Lancaster will not be better supported by the united force of individual charity and private interest, than by any political contrivance? We throw out these queries merely to employ the minds of thinking men.

ART. 22.—*Statements relating to the Measures adopted during the present War, for the Augmentation of the Military Force of the Country, previous to the Introduction of the System of recruiting for Service during a Term of Years.* Hatchard. 1808.

'THESE statements,' the author tells us, 'are founded on authentic information, and chiefly on official documents laid on the table of the House of Commons; and in most instances (indeed in all in which it could be material) there is annexed to each statement a distinct reference to the authority on which it rests.'

ART. 23.—*Buenos Ayres. Truth and Reason versus Calumny and Folly; in which the leading Circumstances of General Whitelocke's Conduct in South America are explained. With an Appendix in Answer to an expensive Publication, rebuking every Personality therein advanced.* Kirby. 1807.

WRITTEN by some zealous friend or agent of General Whitelocke, in order to vindicate his character from the obloquy of the public prints, &c. The sentence of the court martial, which we did not know when we sat down to the perusal of this pamphlet, will spare us the necessity of any animadversious on the *talents* or the *heroism* of the general.

ART. 24.—*A Letter to the Proprietors of Bank Stock in consequence of a General Meeting, held at the Bank, pursuant to Notice, on Thursday the 21st of January, 1808, on Special Affairs.* 1s. 8ro. Ridgway. 1808.

IN the year 1799, Mr. Pitt borrowed three millions of the Bank as a compensation for the extension of its charter for twenty-one years, to take place from the expiration of the present charter in 1812. These three millions were to be lent without interest for six years, and to be repaid at that or any other time after the three per cent. consols had risen to 80. When the six years had expired, the money was nominally repaid, but again demanded by government at an interest of three per cent. and with this demand the governor, deputy governor, and directors very courteously complied. Against this compliance the author argues, as contrary to the interest of the proprietors; and he thinks that the Bank parted with its independence when in an evil hour it sought the protection of the government. The author contends, that an act of the Bank of England ought not to be the mere *fiat* of the governor and directors only, but that it ought to be the deliberate will of the governor, directors, and court of proprietors.

POETRY.

ART. 25.—*Legendary Tales.* By Eaglesfield Smith. 12mo. 4s. Longman.

MR. Eaglesfield Smith, whom, from having before noticed his *Treatise on Bile*, we presume to be of the medical profession, seems to have mistaken himself for one of those favoured mortals, to whom

‘Ipse suas artes, sua munera, lætus Apollo,
Præbuit, &c.’

We wish he had confined himself to the more modest choice of the physician of *Æneas*—

‘Scire potestates herbarum, ususque medendi,
Maluit, et mutas agitare inglorius artes.’

The lyre in his hands emits any sounds rather than those of inspiration. Indeed from the following stanzas, (which we quote at random), it would not be very easy to decide whether Mr. Smith bears the greater resemblance to Sternhold or to Hopkins.

‘His passions urge him on to blood,
A fierce and furious band;
Against the youth he rears his sword,
But friendship stays his hand.

' Stung to the soul, now rustling out,
 His Scythian wilds among,
 Asham'd to face his faithful friend,
 'Mid such dishonest wrong.
 ' He seeks in vain for peace and rest,
 Beat by the desert wind,
 While doubts like dews, about him cling,
 And prey upon his mind.
 ' For jealousy still kept her seat,
 In spite of all his might,
 With him she ever rose at morn,
 With him lay down at night.
 ' Dire fancies bound his bosom o'er
 With many a powerful shock,
 His passions war from side to side,
 More fierce than mortal stroke.'

' Ohe ! Jam satis est ! ' we hear one of our constant readers at the Chapter coffee-house, on the first of every month, exclaiming. We shall therefore take the hint, and close our quotation, which will also, it is presumed, render all further comment on Mr. Eaglesfield Smith's poetical powers superfluous.

ART. 26.—*Poetical Recreations.* By Anthony Harrison. 8vo.
 2 vols. Faulder.

' WHEN in doubt, win the trick,' is one of Bob Short's first sage pieces of advice to learners of the game of whist. The same maxim might with great benefit be recommended to young authors when they first begin to feel the itch of publishing. Entertaining, as they generally and justly do, a diffidence in their own powers, they should never forget that they may preserve, by a discreet forbearance, the reputation which the indulgence of their private friends is willing to concede to them ;

' At semel emissum volet irrevocabile, &c.'

Mr. Harrison displays, or affects to display, in his preface, some modest doubts of success. And yet even those doubts might seem presumptuous in one who writes such lines as the following, and calls them '*Poetical Recreations.*' In what part of them, we would gladly be informed, is to be found either the poetry or the recreation ? The numerous pieces, grave and gay, that fill these two volumes, are equally destitute, the latter of legitimate vivacity, the former of the attributes of more solid writings, and both of the spirit of poetry. The passage we are about to quote on the subject of card-playing, doubtless put us in mind of the salutary hint with which we commenced our remarks, and which we again beg leave strongly to inculcate.

' Cards for a time may recreate the mind,
 By much abuse they stupify it, blind,

Sink and enervate, render it unfit
For wisdom, truth, vivacity, or wit,

(Surely Mr. Harrison must have addicted himself very much to the card table.)

' And what's a dire effect by all allow'd,
Will o'er the loveliest features cast a cloud;
Will of good-humour oft the mind disarm,
And rob your sex of its securest charm.
Dealers in cards, to worth have no pretence,
Sunk in one pit of baneful indolence.
Cards lead to av'rice, form indeed a shoot
Of that vile weed of most tenacious root;
Sure e'en in folly 'tis a strange mistake,
To love mere money for mere money's sake.
Almost an ideot can this truth adduce,
That gold is but desirable for use.
When av'rice in the heart assumes command,
And o'er the portals lays his chilling hand,
Love, truth, and sympathy, are all shut out,
And human nature sinks below the brute.'

MISCELLANEOUS.

ART. 27.—*A Narrative of the Loss of the Ship Fanny, on her Passage from Bombay to China, with an Account of the extraordinary Preservation of a Part of the Crew after remaining several Weeks upon the Centre of Rocks in the Chinese Ocean. In a Letter from Thomas Page, Second Officer. Second Edition. 8vo. Symonds. 1805.*

CONTAINING a simple tale of sufferings, in its nature very peculiar, and in some of its circumstances unparalleled.

List of Articles which, with many others, will appear in the next Number of the Critical Review.

Philosophical Transactions for 1807.
Macdiarmid's British Statesmen.
Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare.
Article I. of last Review, concluded
with a character of Mr. Fox.
Scott's Marmion.
Twining's Letter to the Chairman
of the East India Company.
Major Scott Waring's Observations
on the present State of the East
India Company.
Major Scott Waring's Letter to the
Rev. I. Owen.

Reply to a Letter to John Scott
Waring, Esq.
Rev. I. Owen's Address to the
East India Company.
Letter to John Scott Waring, Esq.
Cursory Remarks on Mr. Twining's
Letter.
Letter to the President of the Board
of Control.
Godwin's Faulkener.
Sir Richard Colt Hoare's Giraldus
Cambrensis, &c.
Hoyle's Exodus,